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THE

LIFE AND SERVICES

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL

HENRY WARNER SLOCUM

OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY; IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR IN DIFFERENT MILITARY CAMPAIGNS COMMANDER OF ARMY CORPS; COMMANDER OF ARMIES COMMANDER OF DISTRICT; COMMANDER OF DEPARTMENT; STATE AND NATIONAL LEGISLATOR; CITIZEN

By

CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM, M.D., PH.D., LL.D.

MEMBER OF LOCAL, OHIO STATE, AND NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETIES; OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY; AND OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STAY AND FIGHT IT OUT—*General Slocum's Injunction to the Council of War in the Dark Hour of the Battle of Gettysburg*

TOLEDO, OHIO
THE SLOCUM PUBLISHING COMPANY
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TO THE NUMEROUS POSTS OF

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

A SOCIETY OF HONORABLY DISCHARGED SOLDIERS
OF THE UNION ARMIES AND NAVY OF THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-1865
WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO THE UPLIFT
OF THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ITS MEMBERS
AS WELL AS TO THE BROADENING OF
THEIR PATRIOTIC LOVE OF THEIR COUNTRY
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR

I wish for humanity's sake that this sad war could be brought to a close. While laboring to make it successful, I shall do all in my power to mitigate its horrors.—GENERAL SLOCUM'S *letter to his wife November 7, 1864, from Atlanta, eight days before starting on the memorable* MARCH TO THE SEA.

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This book is given to events surrounding, and centering in, one prominent actor in the Great Civil War of 1861-1865 in the United States of America, with mention of other actors and events closely associated with the subject actor for the side lights thus cast on the subject for the rounding of the record.

It has been the desire of the writer to keep each page clear in its record of men and events, and not to forget that the detail belongs to the principal subject. It is thought best to incline to some details that may be thought unnecessary by those readers fully informed, rather than to have the average reader miss too much that he would like to know. Irrelevant questions have been avoided.

More than a generation in time has passed since the close of the great internal strife of four years duration treated of in this book; and it is hoped, from the importance of the subject, that the record of the details of the army life and its great trials presented herein may be of interest to every reader. The work is based upon the Official Records, on correspondence, and other material placed in the writer's hands by the immediate family of the subject actor.

This Great Civil War originated from the legislative acts of secession of eleven Southern slaveholding States from their original Union with the Northern States; from the organizing of a separate government by the former called the Confederate States of America; the seizure by it of all the forts, arsenals, navy yards, and other United States property within the limits of this new would-be government that was readily turned over to it by sympathizing friends in charge of them; and from overt acts of war against the United States control of Union property in the Southern States not promptly surrendered to those in sympathy with the Confederate States government then being organized.

The Army of the United States had always been small. Most members of it who had been recruited in the South, remained there, as did most of the Southern officers, graduates

of the United States Military and Naval Academies. Such officers in the North and South, with the former recruits, formed only small nuclei of the contesting armies that were soon gathered with war intent, particularly in the South.

Nearly all members of the large armies, gathered by hundreds of thousands North and South for this fratricidal war, were at first short time volunteers, scarcely any one of whom was fairly well disciplined when his term of enlistment expired, the officers of each government thinking that the war, if any there was, would be of short duration. Many of these short term soldiers, however, reinlisted for longer service, and they became veterans of unexcelled worth.

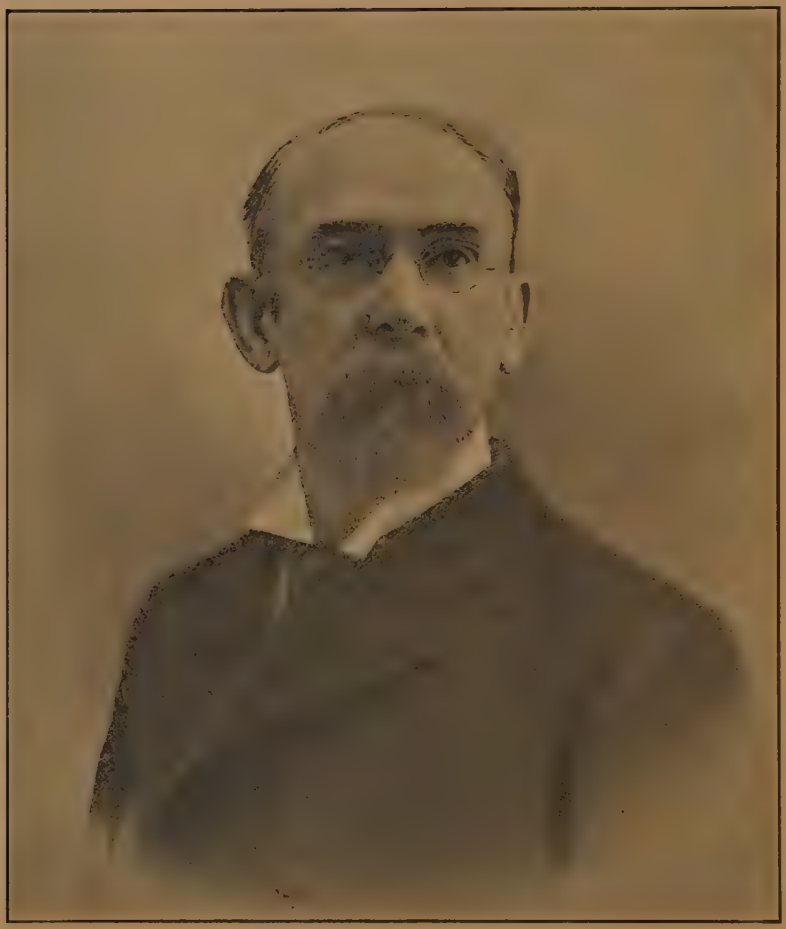
It has not been the intention, or the desire, of the writer to produce a complete history or account of any battle mentioned in this book, and much less a continuous record of the great war. No such complete work has been accomplished. The most the writer hopes to do, is to show the part enacted by his subject actor in daily detail, after recording his basis for heritage through many American generations, his early ambitions, opportunities, and struggles, all contributing to the formation of an upright stable character of the poor American boy, whose watchfulness for and the embracing of opportunities for his betterment, and whose thoughtful and unfaltering devotion to duty, and to his country, eventually enrolled his name high, and indelibly, upon his country's Roll of Honor as a Union officer of the most trustworthy and successful class in the great conflict known as the great Civil War in America.

From this recounting of the experiences and services of Henry Warner Slocum day by day during his ever broadening career—in his actual military life beginning as a second lieutenant of artillery, and ending as the commanding general of an army numbering many thousands of men, engaged in many close and bloody battles, all without a single defeat, and even without the permanent loss of a cannon or flag and, later as the Union commander of a military department in the conquered Southern States, where great discretion and executive ability were necessary—it is hoped that the reader may get glimpses

of all phases of his civil and military life; and thus be able to note corrections of many of the omissions of most writers on the Civil War, and get correct views of his just rights to be recorded among the foremost of those most worthy of remembrance. The reader may, also, here get account of the war in much of its stern realities; and, withal, may have the opportunity for noting the causes why the many failed, and the few attained great success.

Charles Elihu Slocum.

Toledo, Ohio.



DR. CHARLES ELIHU SLOCUM
The Author

CHAPTER I

Introductory

The Slocums in America date from the year 1637. From the year 1656 or before they were reared according to the tenets of the religious Society of Friends, 'in scorn called Quakers,' until removal from Massachusetts and Rhode Island westward, beginning about the year 1775, separated different families from the church society of their fathers. The families so separated united with the church in their new locality which was thought by them nearest in belief to that of the Friends, opposition to war and all strife being a principal feature of their desire.

Notwithstanding this careful rearing by precept and example, numbers of young men, and some older ones, in New England and westward were carried away from the desires and teachings of their parents by an awakened spirit of loyalty to their country, and they enlisted in the Revolutionary War of 1775-1783. General Nathaniel Greene, second only to Washington in command, was the most notable instance of Slocum blood in that war.[1] Other instances show as many as three sons of a prominent Friend's family enlisting, two of whom saw much army service, and both rose from the ranks to the commission of captain. The older of these two, Edward, was a charter member of the revolutionary officers' Society of the Cincinnati, which yet exists by membership succession of the eldest male lineal descendant in each generation. But in Edward's line no one has thus far applied for membership. Edward's brother Ebenezer's service was both on land and sea and continued through the War of 1812.[2] Another instance yet more interesting, to the writer particularly, is that of Eleazer Slocum and Caleb Wright, Friends and great-grandparents of the writer, who took with them the first son and nephew, Joseph Slocum, grandfather of the writer, then very young in years but large of stature, and the three enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Regiment to aid in saving their homes from desecration by the English General Burgoyne's army, which was marching down from Canada—and the three fought to the capture of this British army at Saratoga in October, 1777, freely volunteering

of their substance and their service, to the changing of the tide of war against the British invaders. Of this action they made no boast; neither did they tell the story to their descendants; the writer's father, Captain Caleb Wright Slocum, did not know of it, and the writer learned of it only from the New York State Records.[3]

The Society of Friends was one of the most remarkable results of the Reformation in England. Americans are indebted to this Society for religious liberty to a far greater degree than for political liberty. Its members well deserve the name of the Protestants of the Pilgrims in New Plymouth, and particularly of the Puritans in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England. They would not pay tithes, nor anything, for the pecuniary support of any church other than their own. They were willing, however, to concede to all others the same right to the liberty they desired for themselves. They were a noble band of men and women, very generally of wholesome minds and characters, who won, in principle and fact, religious liberty by patiently suffering imprisonment, savage mutilations, and even death, from the authorities of the Colonial Church desiring the name 'established' in New England. To the great principles of their well founded religious belief they remained firm, while quietly enduring all persecutions without resentment, until they were formally released from persecution by the Declaration of Indulgence issued in April, 1687, by King James II. of England.

The Friends were very methodical, full and accurate in keeping the records of their different meetings, and of their vital statistics. Fortunate indeed is the genealogist who has such wealth of resource from which to draw for his American data, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries particularly.

The name Slocum has been well represented in every prominent war of the United States. In the great Civil War, 1861-1865, the number of Slocums engaged was relatively large from its beginning to its ending—different families contributing three, four, and even five, volunteers—and their patriotism and valor were thoroughly tested, and found not wanting. The large number who gave up their lives on the battle-fields for their country during this war, are recorded in the United States Roll of Honor;[4] and the numerous others who died later of wounds

and disabilities received in this war lie buried at their several homes scattered throughout the States of the preserved Union.

Among this large number suffering death early in the war there were several who, undoubtedly, would have risen to high command had their lives been spared. Of this number but two will be mentioned here.

First. John Stanton Slocum, Colonel of the Second Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, was killed in the First Battle of Bull Run, at Sudley Ford, Virginia, July 21, 1861. He was a cultured officer of good judgment, great energy and coolness in danger. His regiment was hard pressed by superior numbers of the enemy, but it bravely and steadily held its ground, even beating back its foe, until their heroic Colonel fell mortally wounded. He was Major of Colonel Ambrose E. Burnside's First Rhode Island Infantry Regiment until the Second Regiment was organized, when he was chosen its Colonel. Colonel (afterwards General) Burnside reported of him in high terms.[5] He served with distinction as an officer in the Mexican War, 1846-1848; and his monument in Providence, Rhode Island, proudly bears the words Contreras, Cherubusco, Chepultepec and Sudley Ford.[6] It was in honor of the memory of Colonel John Stanton Slocum that one of the strongest defenses of Washington, District of Columbia, during the Civil War, was named Fort Slocum.[7] It was situated about a mile north of the Soldiers' Home in Washington.

Second. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Enos Slocum was born in Steuben County, New York, and resided in Indiana from the age of nineteen years. He enlisted in Company K, Fourteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry; was commissioned Lieutenant and went with his company into Virginia in May, 1861. After participating in several skirmishes he was shot through the right thigh in the Battle of Winchester May 25, 1862, the ball shattering the bone five inches below the hip joint. He made fairly good recovery, was commissioned Major of the Eighty-second Indiana Volunteers, and was assigned to General Don C. Buell's command. After being in several engagements with the enemy, including the Battle of Stone's River, Tennessee, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel. He served thus in the battles of Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and in the pursuit of the

enemy. February 25, 1864, while in command of two regiments, the Eighty-second Indiana and the Eighty-ninth Ohio, in the battle near Tunnell Hill, Georgia, he received a mortal wound through his left breast while passing along his line, encouraging his men.[8] He died March 3, 1864, at Chattanooga.

Of the other Slocum officers in the Civil War, the one next in rank to Major-General Henry W. Slocum, was Willard Slocum, a prominent attorney at Ashland, Ohio. He volunteered early for army service, was retained at Columbus, Ohio, as recruiting, disciplining, and assignment officer. He was successful in this work, and was urged to continue it; but he went to the front with a regiment and, for bravery displayed in the field, particularly in the unfortunate Red River Campaign in Louisiana, he was commissioned Brigadier-General.[9] He died at his home in Ashland, Ohio, September 23, 1894.

CHAPTER II

Lineage

Major-General Henry Warner Slocum was in the eighth American generation of Slocums, six generations of whom were born members of the religious Society of Friends.

His lineage runs back as follows: Seventh, Matthew Barnard Slocum married Mary Ostrander; sixth, Benjamin married Elizabeth Coggeshall; fifth, John married Martha Tillinghast; fourth, Benjamin married Meribah Earl; third, Eleazer married Elephel Fitzgerald; second, Giles married Joan ——; first, Anthony married twice, names of wives not ascertained up to this time.

Anthony Slocombe, the first American ancestor in this line, was born near Taunton, Somersetshire, England, A. D. 1590. He was one of the first proprietors and settlers of Taunton, New Plymouth, now Massachusetts, in the year 1637, and here the first clerk wrote his surname from sound as Slocum,[10] which form has since prevailed with his descendants in the Northern States. Anthony was chosen to several offices in the new settlement, and he was most active in developing at Taunton the first permanent iron works in America, using the bog iron ore

found in the vicinity. After residing at Taunton twenty-five years as a freeman, and as a successful and leading though quiet citizen, he sold his holdings there, and went to the Albemarle region, Carolina, as a Lord Deputy Proprietor to aid his boyhood friend, the Duke of Albemarle, in the settlement of, and the establishment of government in, the Carolina Grant. He died at Edenton, North Carolina, aged one hundred years, having been a stanch American pioneer colonist in a double sense.[11]

General Slocum's other ancestors were industrious, thrifty, and good citizens, generally rising to considerable prominence in their communities.

Matthew Barnard Slocum, the father of the General, our subject, was the second child and first of four sons in a family of eight children. He was born in Marietta, Ohio, in 1788, and was reared from the year 1802 at Newport, Rhode Island. In his early manhood he went to Albany, New York, and there engaged as clerk in a general merchandising business of small capital; and it appears that he invested part of his earnings in the business. He married here, April 9, 1814, Mary, daughter of John Ostrander. The business in which he was employed not proving profitable, it was closed in 1817, and later this year he moved his wife and two children to the small hamlet of Delphi, Onondaga County, near the center of New York State. Here he reared a large family, and completed his life work as a retail general merchant, using a room for his merchandise on one of the corners of the crossing of two country roads which formed the streets of the hamlet. His dwelling was attached to the rear of his business room. Later he purchased between ten and fifteen acres of land, embracing his residence and business room, which gave him facilities for keeping a horse, cow, and the smaller animals then deemed necessary for his business and rapidly increasing family. He died August 11, 1853, while visiting his son George at Scottsville, New York. He was interred at Delphi. His widow died October 31, 1865, in Syracuse, a few miles from Delphi, where she was interred.

The children of Matthew Barnard Slocum numbered eleven. Two of the six sons enlisted in the Civil War. John Ostrander Slocum, the second son and third child, was born June 9, 1820. He studied medicine and surgery and was graduated at Castle-

ton, Vermont, Medical College in 1847. He enlisted in the Civil War as assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Twenty-second Regiment of Volunteer Infantry, in August, 1862. The next year he was commissioned Surgeon of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, and remained with this regiment until the close of the war in 1865, excepting occasional detailings for service in the Divisional Hospital. At the Battle of Rappahannock Station, Virginia, he was the only surgeon at hand, and the untiring manner in which he cared for the wounded won for him the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. The last year of the war his rank was that of Brigade Surgeon. His was a very sensitive nature, with high regard for honest duty. Returning home at the close of the war he completed his life work as a general physician and surgeon with residence and office at the Village of Camillus, Onondaga County, New York.

CHAPTER III

Henry's Schooling and Early Training

Henry Warner Slocum, our subject, was named in honor of a favorite uncle by marriage. He was the sixth child and the fifth of six sons in a family of eleven children. He was born September 24, 1826, and was reared in the family rooms adjoining his father's small general merchandizing room. In common with all other children in the school district, he was sent to the Delphi Public School, at first only during the summer terms of three months each and, later, to the winter terms of the same length.

The average teachers of these short session schools soon failed to interest him, and his active mind found more congenial work in helping in his father's business. He was anxious to do more, and his father soon permitted him to earn money for his clothing, and for accumulation, in other work and ways during the odd moments when not needed in the home business—and this proved of great aid to his father, who was often hard pressed for money to maintain his large family with his small income. Henry bought sheep, a few at a time, paying for their keeping by a percentage of their increase and wool. He was thoughtful,

energetic and successful in small degrees in other ways of earning money until his brothers and other young friends called him Speculator, 'Spec' for short, after the all-too-common way of teasing or badgering people. His brother William, a little more than two years younger, expended the little money he obtained for a dictionary, and he soon became the definition oracle of the family, and school, he receiving the nickname 'Dic' on that account,[12] and Henry profited in knowledge thereby.

A new teacher in the winter term of the public school, a Mr. Belding, found in Henry an apt pupil, and he soon won a place at the head of his classes in arithmetic, algebra, geometry and other studies, in quick succession.

An incident exhibiting Henry's thoughtfulness and leadership among his associates about this time, also communicated to the writer by his brother William, will be here mentioned: In the early part of summer about a dozen boys near his own age united with him in the purchase of a cheap two-pounder cannon to aid in celebrating the Fourth of July, particularly. Much enjoyment was obtained from it the next Fourth without serious harm resulting. The gun was then given to the care of one of the company for safe-keeping until it was wanted for another celebration. In the meanwhile this caretaker's parents took residence in Woodstock, Madison County, about five miles southeast of Delphi; and the custodian carried to the neighboring, and competing, village the Delphi gun without permission of its owners. The abstraction of the gun caused great commotion among the Delphi boys, and the voice was generally favorable for a march to Woodstock for the purpose of capturing the gun by force. Young Slocum, who had been reading the Life of Napoleon, opposed such movement as most likely to cause a rallying not only of the Woodstock boys but of their older friends also in overwhelming numbers to defeat the capture. He would have them remain quiet until they could devise a plan for the capture of the gun by strategy, and not force. His suggestions were favored by the majority, which at once chose him as leader for the work. He accordingly appeared in Woodstock July 3rd, and overheard the plans agreed upon for the sunrise gun to open the celebration next day. He returned home and matured his plans. Before the time for firing this first gun the next morning,

two squads of Delphi boys and a large farm wagon with a span of horses were secreted behind a barn in Woodstock near the place where the gun was to be fired. Immediately after the firing the attention of the gunners and onlookers was successfully attracted by a sham fight away from the gun by one squad of the would-be captors, while the other squad hurriedly loaded the gun into the wagon and hurried their pace with it back to Delphi, where it was again used with much pleasure by its rightful owners. Another year, however, as has been experienced in numerous similar cases, this gun was exploded by an overload, and the person nearest it was killed.

Young Slocum's energy and thrift continued until he was able to attend Cazenovia Seminary, in the adjoining County of Madison. At the age of sixteen years he was thought worthy of a Public School Teacher's Certificate by the County Superintendent of Schools. A school was secured, which he taught with advantage to his pupils and honor to himself. He continued teaching at intervals for about five years, carefully saving his meager receipts; and in the meantime during vacations he attended the State Normal School at Albany part of the time, when he could be spared by his father. All of this was valuable experience to him, contributing to that necessary introspection and rounding of character that have given many thousands of American youths vantage in after life.

News of the United States' claim against Mexico, and the declaration of war with that country in 1846, particularly, brought forcefully to the notice of our subject the names of young men, educated at the West Point Military Academy, who were being appointed officers in the different commands for service in this war; and, having been stimulated to an admiration of historic military men by some of the books read, the desire for education at West Point soon assumed definite form with him. The quiet, unassuming Quaker spirit of his father was without particular political influence, however; and some lengths of time elapsed before Henry's own quiet persistency impressed itself upon Daniel F. Gott, congressman of the Onondaga, New York, district.

It was the happiest day of his life thus far when he received notice of his being named for cadetship. It was not without

many misgivings, however, that he presented himself at the West Point Military Academy July 1, 1848, with his certificate of appointment. The dreaded entrance examination was passed favorably, and he entered upon the course successfully, though modestly according to his nature.

As a cadet he suffered uncomplainingly whatever of hazing the upper classmen were disposed to subject him to; which proved to be infrequent and rather mild. He won the respect of all, notwithstanding his free expression of opinion when it was desired on questions of the time, including that of the negative side of human slavery and other questions allied with it of increasing concern between the Northern and Southern sections of the Republic, and which were often brought to discussion by the strong Southern sentiment then pervading the Academy. His frank and kindly personality deeply impressed itself upon all classmen.[13]

During his military course at West Point young Slocum often felt, and lamented, his want of the broader culture possessed by many of his fellow students who had experienced, and were constantly experiencing, the advantages of a full college course. But his persistent and circumspect efforts, which often compensate for a longer course, kept him well toward the head of his class.

His ranking the first year was quite favorable to him, the rating being twelve in mathematics, forty in French, and nine in English studies. In the order of general merit he ranked fourteen in a class of sixty. His demerit marks numbered twenty-three during the year, while those of numerous students were in excess of this number, some ranging toward two hundred. In the conduct roll he was rated sixty-five in the entire school then numbering two hundred and eighteen. His second year's ratings were, eleven in mathematics, thirty-four in French, and nineteen in drawing. In the class order of general merit he stood thirteenth in the class numering fifty-five, with no demerits during the year. In order merit in the entire school he ranked eleventh among two hundred and twenty-one. During his third year he was rated third in philosophy, tenth in chemistry, and fourteenth in drawing. In order of general merit his rank was third in a class of fifty-three. This standing gave him the honor

of being number three of the five most distinguished cadets, to be so publicly reported at the annual examination and in the Register. He was given no demerits during this year. In the general conduct roll he ranked number eight among the entire attendance of two hundred and twenty-nine. For his fourth, and last, year he was rated ninth in engineering, sixth in ethics, sixth in mineralogy and geology, fourteenth in infantry tactics, and sixth in artillery. He stood seventh in the order of general merit in the class of forty-seven. In the general conduct roll he ranked number twenty among the entire school of two hundred and twenty-four.[14]

General Philip H. Sheridan was a classmate of Henry W. Slocum at West Point. In his *Memoirs,* written after his great reputation was secure, Sheridan remembered his fellow student in the following terms: "Good fortune gave me for a room-mate a cadet whose education was more advanced than mine, and whose studious habits and willingness to aid others benefited me immensely. This room-mate was Henry W. Slocum, since so signally distinguished in both military and civil capacities as to win for his name a proud place in the annals of his country."

CHAPTER IV

In the United States Army. Studies Law

Henry Warner Slocum was graduated at the United States Military Academy in June, 1852. He was at once commissioned Second Lieutenant and assigned for service in the First United States Artillery, which was soon ordered to Florida to maintain the peace of the yet disquieted Seminole Aborigines. In the latter part of 1853 his company was ordered to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina.

Obtaining a short furlough, Lieutenant Slocum returned home and, February 9, 1854, he was married to Miss Clara, daughter of Israel and Dorcas (Jenkins) Rice of Woodstock, New York, with whom acquaintance began while both the young people were students at Cazenovia Seminary. He returned in due time to his post of duty accompanied by his wife.

At Fort Moultrie, with abundant leisure from garrison duty, the enticing opportunities for boating, fishing, hunting, and the attractions of Charleston society, together with a variety of post duties, the time passed rapidly and pleasantly for a time. But Lieutenant Slocum could not remain long satisfied with so little of work and so much of pleasure. He decided to devote a considerable part of this time outside of his military duties to the study of law. Fortunately he secured the good services of Honorable B. C. Presley of Charleston as preceptor, who was as much pleased with his student as was the Lieutenant with his teacher, a cultured, progressive man, who was later called to the South Carolina Supreme Court as judge. Lieutenant Slocum entered upon the new study with a zest that promised good success to all persons knowing his enduring qualities. In the meantime his military duties were fully performed.

Our subject was commissioned First Lieutenant March 3, 1855, and he was continued in the First United States Artillery service. For some length of time previous to receiving this promotion Lieutenant Slocum had been considering the question of resigning from the army. His advancement in rank, while not changing his mind, delayed his action for the important change of profession.

The summer of 1855 was unusually warm. His family—a daughter, Caroline, had been born meantime—were ill from the heat and miasms; and the better health, vigor, and business of his native State appealed to him with greater force than ever before. His regiment was to be ordered again to Florida. There was no cloud of war visible, and he was becoming anxious for more useful and energetic employment. He had fully recompensed the general government for his military education. October 20, 1856, his child died in Charleston; the 31st of the same month he resigned from the United States Army.

Lieutenant Slocum returned to Onondaga County, New York, where he was admitted to the bar. He opened office in the city of Syracuse, and soon had a good clientele in the practice of law. He now saw even greater cause for thankfulness for the habit of economy and thrift which was well formed in his youthful days. From care regarding clothing and expenditures, he had been able to save money even during his cadetship,

and he was thereby able to aid his father during the time of his poor health, and business depression. During the four-and-a-third years of his army service he had saved enough from his pay receipts to pay for a modest home in Syracuse, also to pay for a row of vacant lots, upon which he built residences a few years later. The Syracuse authorities named the street, along which these lots are situated, Slocum Avenue in honor of the man whose thrift and energy improved this part of the city.

Without special effort on his part, in November, 1858, our subject was elected Assemblyman, member of the lower house, of the New York State Legislature, from Syracuse on the Republican ticket. He was not a politician but acted regarding each measure or law brought before the House in the quiet, conscientious, and thoughtful way now become habitual with him. For two years, 1859-1860, he answered the call, and served his State as Instructor of Artillery Service to the Militia with the rank of Colonel.

In the election of November, 1860, his friends chose him for the office of Treasurer of Onondaga County for a term of three years. He entered upon this important duty in due time. His patriotism, and conscientious recognition of a higher duty, however, did not permit him to serve in this lucrative and peaceful office, but called him, propelled him, to the battle-field, where life itself was in the balance.

CHAPTER V

Volunteers in the Civil War. At Bull Run

Neither local office, the practice of law, nor even the love of family and friends, could hold Colonel Slocum at home when his country needed his services.

When South Carolina, after the ordinance of secession from the United States, opened guns upon the United States supply boat Star of the West January 9, 1861, and particularly when she began the bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor April 12, 1861, Colonel Slocum's artillery services, and his duty to his country, were uppermost in his thoughts. He went to Albany and, calling on Governor Edwin D. Morgan, asked for

permission to recruit a battery of light artillery for United States service, from the good offices of the State of New York. The Governor received him urbanely and listened to his request with interest, but seriously sought to assure him that the rebellion of the South could be subdued without the use of artillery; and declined to comply with his request.

A regiment of infantry was organized in Colonel Slocum's native county, and a friend suggested to the company officers that Colonel Slocum would make a desirable leader. A popular officer of the militia, however, received the majority of the votes for the position. In the meantime great influence was at work to induce him to remain quietly in his important office at home.

Another regiment, the Twenty-seventh New York Volunteer Infantry, was at this time being organized at Elmira, a great rendezvous of volunteers. The companies forming this regiment were mainly enlisted in the counties of Broome, Monroe, and Livingston, one company being mostly composed of students of Lima Seminary, a prominent Methodist institution, and all the other companies were composed of like choice men. The suggestion of one officer that a West Point graduate be chosen to lead the regiment was well discussed, and prevailed by a large majority. Although known only by reputation to most of this regiment, Colonel Slocum was chosen on account of his ability shown as Instructor of the Militia. Upon the coming of the regiment's committee with its message, Colonel Slocum promptly accepted the proffered position. To his brave wife, and doubting friends, he said, "I was educated at the expense of our country and it is my duty to answer this call affirmatively." Colonel Slocum's third United States commission bore the date May 21, 1861. His Major was Joseph J. Bartlett, a man of good ability and character, who also rose to the rank of Major-General, and the other officers were well chosen men.

The active work of drilling and disciplining the Twenty-seventh Regiment was at once begun on the Elmira grounds, and the men of all the companies partook of the general interest. By working many hours each day, early and late, they soon attained a good degree of efficiency, and their first, and early, service on the battle-field showed it to be one of the best regiments then in the army.

In compliance with orders, Colonel Slocum, with his regiment, left the barracks at Elmira July 10, 1861, by steam cars and, upon his reporting to the Secretary of War in Washington the same day, his regiment was assigned to Colonel Andrew Porter's First Brigade of General David Hunter's Second Division of General Irvin McDowell's army, then a few miles south of Washington; and the brigade was joined without delay.

The regiment had but a short time to rest, and to get somewhat adjusted to its brigade surroundings, before being ordered forward to meet the enemy. The Twenty-seventh united with other regiments to form the Union center, which marched at 2 o'clock A. M. for the First Battle of Bull Run, or Manassas, July 21, 1861. This was one of the most trying days from the heat, the long march, fatigue and trying engagements under strong fire and rout, to which untried troops could have been subjected. But, in the unfortunate battle that ensued, Slocum and his men were conspicuous for their good discipline and bravery, notwithstanding the long hours they were under arms. For some length of time victory appeared to be with the Union forces when Colonel Henry W. Slocum completed the rout of the enemy's center by a well conceived, and well executed charge, in which he fell with a severe musket ball wound through his left thigh.

Fresh reinforcements rallied the enemy, who, in turn, routed the Union center in which Slocum's regiment remained true to the rigid training of their Colonel, and did great service by being the first to rally upon the first position and form a nucleus for gathering the regiments scattered by the reinforced enemy.[15] But the Union army was in retreat, and but a part of the panic stricken men could be arrested to orderly pace.

At the present distance it is quite impossible to fully comprehend the conditions of the fear stricken young soldiers who, in their efforts to flee from danger, brought upon themselves more suffering than they would have experienced in an orderly retreat, if retreat was necessary. The conditions of the enemy were but little better than those of the retreating men. The weather was hot and dry. The perspiration, dust, and smoke, with the loss of sleep and rest; with short or no rations of both water and food; the great excitement, worse from being the first battle; fear and overwrought exertion to escape by crowding,

pushing, struggling, and using every means of taking advantage of every apparent help to quicken the pace, even encroaching on the wounded and adding greatly to their surgical shock, all conspired to the permanent disablement of many of the weaker ones. It was a very severe ordeal for those who were the strongest. Rain fell during the night which, while adding to the difficulty of traveling over unimproved roads, conduced to some relief in other ways. The casualties in Colonel Slocum's regiment were 26 killed, 44 wounded, including two officers, and 60 missing.

Colonel Slocum's men, from their good state of discipline, and the wise management of Major Bartlett, escaped much of the personal injury and serious results experienced by many regiments.

The Colonel, in common with other wounded who could be moved, received as good attention as could be given by the new and not fully equipped surgical force before starting for the hospital in Washington. As he rallied from the shock of his wound, his thoughts were on his men; and he was not relieved in mind until all the details of their good work were recounted to him. His joy over the favorable report was prominent in his letter to his wife, namely:

Washington, July 25, 1861.

My Dear Clara:

. . . . . .

I attended services at Manassas last Sunday, but before the meeting closed I was obliged to depart for this city. For particulars see the New York daily papers.

I am bolstered up in bed, making my first attempt at writing. I am as happy as a clam in high water. My regiment covered itself with glory. It was one of the first in, and last out. Not a man showed the white feather. They fought until all their ammunition was expended, and when the stampede commenced, General McDowell ordered the officers to form all the regiments in line so as to make another stand, or, at least, make an orderly retreat. . . . Finally he gave up the attempt, and we were ordered to retreat.

After going a few rods the General made another attempt to check the utter rout of our troops. He again ordered the regiments to form in line, but ours was the only one that could be formed again. The General then cried out in a loud voice, "Soldiers, form on that noble regiment! We must make a stand!" . . . This same attempt was repeated a

third time, with the same result. A person told me to-day that General McDowell reported all this to General Scott, with high encomium on the regiment.

All this may appear singular in view of the accounts of the battle given in the New York papers, wherein our regiment is not even mentioned. . . . But the truth is known in quarters where I desire to have it known. It is all right.

I had almost forgotten to tell you about my wound. It is doing well, and pains me but little. I would agree to take another just like it if I could thereby secure as good conduct on the part of my regiment when it takes the field again.

As soon as his wound was in condition for the journey, Colonel Slocum returned to his home in Syracuse where he made rapid recovery.

CHAPTER VI

Brigadier-General. Recovers from Wound

About the middle of August Colonel Slocum was highly pleased in the receipt from the Department of War of a commission of Brigadier-General, bearing date August 9, 1861. This may have hastened his return to the field of action, where he reported for duty September 9th after an absence of only fifty days from the time of receiving his wound.

Upon his reporting to the Secretary of War he was assigned to command the Second Brigade in General William B. Franklin's Second Division of General Irvin McDowell's First Army Corps. His brigade was composed of the following regiments: The Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York, the Fifth Maine, and the Ninth Pennsylvania. These regiments became noted for their good discipline and general efficiency.

The following report of General Slocum to his ranking officer under date Alexandria, October 5, 1861, shows his alertness and initiative in every good act for his country:

"General: Several Union men have recently been arrested by the enemy in the vicinity of Accotink. On Saturday last three worthy and inoffensive men were taken from their houses solely on account of their sympathy with the Government. I have to-day caused the arrest of two open and avowed secessionists residing in the same neighborhood. I am confident that the

retention of these men as prisoners for a few days will have a wholesome effect, and will tend to restore quiet in the vicinity of Accotink by convincing the enemy that the practice of capturing unarmed men is one which can be followed by both sides.

"Mr. Nevitt (one of the men arrested) frankly admits that he is a secessionist; that he has sufficient influence with the enemy to secure the discharge of parties arrested by them; that he has been to Fairfax and secured the release of some of his Union friends. All this he freely admits. There is no doubt about his position. Mr. Lee occupies the same position. He admits that he is opposed to the United States Government; that his house is often visited by the enemy, and that some of his family are in the army. I think the position of both is sufficiently defined by themselves to justify the Government in retaining them as hostages for the good treatment of their neighbors and our friends who are now in the hands of the enemy. I have therefore placed them in charge of the provost-marshal at Alexandria to be held until further orders."

General Franklin, Slocum's ranking officer, passed this report on upward with the recommendation that these men be sent to Washington for imprisonment until further orders.

The efficiency and good standing of Slocum's command was brought about by his insistence upon good discipline. His first enforced lesson to this command, and its result, are shown in his call for a court of inquiry regarding disobeyance of his orders, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Alexandria, Va., October 6, 1861.

Sir: I received information on the 3d instant that a body of the enemy's cavalry was at Pohick Church, about 12 miles from these headquarters, together with such other information as led me to suppose that the force could be captured without difficulty. The plan for an expedition for this purpose was fully matured and was verbally communicated to Colonel Christian, Twenty-sixth New York Volunteers, who was detailed to the command. An order was then issued of which I herewith enclose a copy.

The expedition proved an entire failure, and this result I am informed and believe is to be attributed to the fact that my orders relative to the manner of the execution were not obeyed; and what is still more annoying to me and disgraceful to my command, is the fact that instead of being marched back to the camp in good order, a large portion of the command was allowed to disband beyond our line of pickets, and, as might have been anticipated from such a proceeding, this force sent to operate against the troops of the enemy was converted into a band of marauders, who plundered alike friend and foe.

I deem it my duty to lay these facts before the commanding general, and to suggest that a court of inquiry be convened for the purpose of a thorough investigation of all the circumstances attending the expedition.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding.

MAJ. S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

[Inclosure.]

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
October 3, 1861.

COL. WILLIAM H. CHRISTIAN:

Sir: You will take command of a detachment of 300 infantry from the regiments composing this brigade and one company of cavalry, and will endeavor to cut off and take prisoners a body of the enemy's cavalry, numbering probably 50 men, stationed at or near Pohick Church.

You will proceed with 225 infantry, according to verbal directions already given you, to certain points in the rear of the enemy's position, and make your attack at precisely 6 o'clock to-morrow morning.

You will send out 75 infantry and the company of cavalry on the Richmond road, with instructions to them to be at Potter's store, 4 miles from Pohick Church, and 6 miles from these headquarters, at 5:45 o'clock, driving in the enemy's pickets and advancing as rapidly as possible towards Pohick Church, in order to cut off the enemy or to render assistance to the other detachments of your command.

The object of the expedition being accomplished, you will return without delay.

By order of Brigadier-General SLOCUM.

JOSEPH HOWLAND,
Assistant Adjutant-General.[16]

The result of this discipline is expressed in General Slocum's letter to a friend at home, as follows:

October 11, 1861.

. . . . . .

I have been very fortunate in securing control of my brigade. One day last week eighteen officers of the Sixteenth addressed a communication to me relative to one of my orders on the subject of depredations on private property. They thought it very severe, and "respectfully demanded" its modification. I at once placed every one of them in arrest, and confined them to their tents. Within a day or two the most humble apologies commenced pouring in, and finally every one was released. But it had a wonderful effect for good discipline.

General Slocum was at this time commanding one of the defenses of Washington, situated near Alexandria, Virginia.

The 15th of October, 1861, the Ninth Pennsylvania Regi-

ment of Slocum's command was replaced by the Twenty-sixth New York. Such changes made necessary a continued systematic instruction in camp and picket duties, with thorough drilling and discipline of the command in whole and in part. Self control in all emergencies was much dwelt upon. The brigade was constantly "on the firing line" as the enemy's cavalry might dash against the pickets at any moment in the night, or in certain places by day. Scouting parties for observation and discipline were often sent out. These exercises were all the more frequent as the time neared for advancing upon the enemy. These thorough drillings appealed to the best judgment and regard of the excellent officers and men in the command; and General Slocum so impressed his ability and consideration upon them that they became noted for their good work; and "in times of the greatest danger and emergency he was a rock upon which all could and did rest with confidence and support."[17]

In several details the medical and distinctively military authorities of the army had not been working in harmony from the beginning of the Civil War. This discord was due to the want of proper foresight, and proper orders of the Secretary of War and of his aged Commander-in-chief of the armies. The medical men had, during previous years of peace, been held in too close subservient rank and authority. A new class of medical and surgical men had arisen, and the old military commanders could not, or would not, extend to them due consideration. This resulted in confusion and no little discord in some commands. General Slocum, however, being very considerate regarding the physical condition of his men, saw to it that they received proper medical attention, and he was highly pleased to co-operate with all worthy medical men and, having confidence in their ability, he deferred to their judgments and aided in the enforcement of their directions.

In December, 1861, there were found in Slocum's brigade fifteen hundred soldiers not protected against small-pox; and by his order this unwholesome condition was at once remedied. He united with the medical authorities to stop malingering, and the true health condition of his command January 21, 1862, is shown in comparison with the report of the Assistant Adjutant General of 14.34 per cent., while General Slocum's brigade surgeon re-

ported only 6.8 per cent. of sickness. At the same time the ratio of his companion brigade's reports were 27.75 and 14.52 respectively. Measles raged severely and quite generally among the soldiers from certain parts of the different states, and re-appeared from time to time during the winter of 1861-62; the amount of sickness in some parts of the army being so great as to cause serious concern among the relatives at home. The strength of General Slocum's brigade and its health condition February 6, 1862, were as follows:

Regiments.	Mean Strength.	Total Sick.	Percentage Sick.
Twenty-seventh New York	840	49	5.83
Sixteenth New York.....	900	101	11.22
Fifth Maine	828	92	11.11
Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania	927	32	3.45
Batteries of Artillery	434	23	5.30
Lincoln Cavalry	1,100	111	10.00

Total number in brigade, 5,029; total number sick, 408; percentage of sickness as a brigade, 8.11.[18]

On April 6, 1862, General Slocum's brigade was yet in the defense of Washington, and the Secretary of War stated his position as "on the advance to Manassas."

General George B. McClellan, who had secured to the Union that part of Virginia north of the Kanawha River and west of the mountains, was called to Washington after the First Battle of Bull Run to take charge of the defenses of Washington and of the Union troops in northeastern Virginia. He soon brought order out of chaos and, notwithstanding many limitations, restraints, and embarrassments received from the War Department, some of which were probably necessary or well directed, he accomplished good results in reorganizing the Army of the Potomac. McClellan favored advancing upon the Confederates, and their capitol city, Richmond, by way of the Peninsula between the York River and the James. After many delays, concessions to the authorities, and re-adjustments, a council of four army corps commanders, organized by the President of the United States March 13th, coincided with McClellan that Fort Monroe, Virginia, was the proper base of operations for move-

ment of the Army of the Potomac against the Confederates and Richmond.[19] The leading division of troops for this Peninsular Campaign was started by transport from Alexandria March 17, 1862. Other troops followed, and General McClellan arrived at Fort Monroe April 2nd. There were again great delays from want of means of transportation, the want of additional gunboats, and of army reinforcements, as McClellan had determined, as he thought, that his land force was outnumbered by the enemy, many of whom were intrenched.

McClellan wanted General Franklin's division; and his persistency in calling for additional troops, and Franklin's in particular, foreboded their transfer to the Peninsula.

CHAPTER VII

Transferred to the Peninsular Campaign

In compliance with a specially urgent request from General McClellan, General Franklin's division, including Slocum's brigade, was ordered to the Peninsula. They arrived at McClellan's headquarters near Yorktown April 22, 1862, and were disembarked from the transport on the north bank of the York River, under protection of gunboats then there, to operate against Gloucester.

At this juncture the Confederates abandoned their fortifications in and around Yorktown that were being besieged by McClellan, and retreated on Williamsburg in the night of April 30th.

Slocum's brigade, with Dana's brigade of General Sedgwick's division, was then sent up the York River by boats, while McClellan with his besieging army followed the retreating enemy by public roads. The York being at flood and the current rapid, but slow progress could be made by the heavily laden transports. They steamed only by day, and could not arrive at their destination, at the mouth of the Pamunkey River, until the forenoon of May 7th.

The troops disembarked on the right bank opposite West Point, and took defensive positions near Eltham's Landing. Here they were soon attacked by the enemy composed of the Confeder-

ate General Whitney's division, and others. Although at considerable disadvantage, the Union force was victor. This Battle of Eltham's Landing, McClellan reported, was the most important in which these Union troops had been engaged, and it was highly creditable to them. General Franklin stated in his report that "General Slocum displayed great skill in the placing of his troops, and that the control of his brigade in action was admirable." The battle began between ten and eleven A. M. and continued until three P. M., when the Confederates acknowledged their defeat by hastily retreating. General Slocum's official report is brief and characteristically non-assertive, namely:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Near West Point, Va., May 7, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to report that in the engagement which occurred to-day I was in command of the center and left wing of our forces. It was apparent soon after the commencement of the engagement that the efforts of the enemy were to be directed mainly against our right wing, and at the request of General Newton I sent reinforcements to him, consisting of the Fifth Maine Volunteers, the Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York Volunteers, which are attached to the brigade under my command. The brigade of General Dana, and the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, of my brigade, were retained on the left.

All of our troops, so far as my observation extended, behaved with great coolness and bravery. The First Massachusetts Battery, under command of Captain Porter, is entitled to great credit for the accuracy of its fire.

I am greatly indebted to Capt. H. C. Rodgers, Captain Hopkins, Captain Sturdevant, and Lieutenants Wead and Shannon, members of my staff, all of whom were actively engaged during the entire day; also to Lieutenant Harbert, Fourth New Jersey Volunteers, and Lieutenant Landon, Adjutant Seventh Michigan Volunteers, who volunteered their services as staff officers, and proved of great assistance to me.

I am sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Brigadier-General Volunteers.

CAPT. E. SPARROW PURDY,
Assistant Adjutant-General.[20]

Consonant with orders, these troops awaited at Eltham's Landing the oncoming of the commands of Generals Sedgwick, Fitz J. Porter, and Richardson's divisions, and protected their landing. Communication was soon opened between this force and the other part of the army after its Battle of Williamsburg and the general retreating of the enemy toward Richmond; and

all supplies for the Union army were then received by the York River at Eltham's Landing.

On May 13th the headquarters of the general commanding the Army of the Potomac, McClellan, also of Franklin's division, embracing Slocum's brigade, and those of F. J. Porter, George Sykes, and William F. Smith, arrived at Cumberland, Virginia, which place was made a temporary depot of supplies. It was a very wet season, copious rains being frequent. The 15th of May the divisions of Franklin, Porter and Smith were started for White House at the crossing of the Pamunkey River and the Richmond Railroad. The distance was but five miles, but it required thirty-six hours of serious effort to complete the march through the deep and tenacious mud with the heavy guns, baggage and supplies.

At White House General McClellan, with permission of President Lincoln, organized two additional army corps, to be known as the Fifth and Sixth Provisional Corps; the Fifth to be composed of the divisions of Porter, Sykes, and the Reserve Artillery, to be under command of General Fitz John Porter; and the Sixth Corps, composed of the divisions of Franklin and Smith, to be under command of General William B. Franklin. General Smith remained in command of his division, and General Slocum was promoted to the command of the division in which he had been serving with the Second Brigade. This promotion to a command of three brigades was a high honor for a young brigadier-general of short service with one brigade. McClellan knew his men, however, and he met with no disappointment in Slocum.

General McClellan's headquarters were moved to White House May 16th, and the depot of supplies was there established, the supplies to come by water and be transported thence by railway. The 19th, the headquarters of the army, including those of the two new corps, were moved to Turnstall's Station, an advance of five miles toward the main body of the enemy. The rain continued, but by the 21st of May the position of the Union troops had been advanced as follows:

General Stoneman's advance guard to within one mile of New Bridge over the Chickahominy River; Franklin's Sixth Corps, with Slocum's division, three miles from New Bridge

near the main body of the enemy with the river between and at high flood stage; Porter's Fifth Corps at supporting distance in the rear; E. V. Sumner's corps by the railway about three miles from the Chickahominy, connecting the right of the army with the left; E. D. Keyes' corps on the New Kent Road near Bottom's Bridge; and General S. P. Heintzelman's corps at supporting distance in the rear.

The ford at Bottom's Bridge was in possession of the Union army. The bridge there had been destroyed by the enemy, and a new bridge was begun by the soldiers now in possession. Army headquarters were removed to Cold Harbor May 22nd. The railroad was in operation by the Unionists on the 26th to the Chickahominy, and a new bridge for it there was nearing completion.

McClellan was very expectant of success in the capture of Richmond, as he was now dominating the principal approaches to its defenses on the east. He at the same time realized that he was near an alert Confederate army which he persisted in reporting as outnumbering his own; but the river separating them was at high flood, and he was expecting reinforcements again from Washington.

The Union center and right flank were advanced to the river above the left; and the 24th of May the enemy was driven from Mechanicsville to within ten miles of Richmond, the fleeing foe destroying the bridge after crossing it. The same day the enemy was driven from Seven Pines fifteen miles southeast of Mechanicsville on the south side of the Chickahominy, and the advance Union line secured a strong position near there.

The effective Union forces were being greatly reduced daily by wounds, sickness, deaths, garrisons, and guard duties and, while the Confederate army was being reinforced daily, no reinforcements came to the Union army.

McClellan had telegraphed the War Department that, "It is possible that the enemy may abandon Richmond; but I do not believe he will—and it would be unwise to count upon anything but a stubborn and desperate defense, a life and death contest. I see no other hope for him than to fight this battle, and we must win it. I shall fight them whatever their force may be; but I ask for every man that the Department can send me."[19]

The 26th of May, learning that a considerable force of the enemy was at the village of Hanover Court House, to the right and rear of his army, McClellan dispatched General Porter with one division of his corps to that place. Porter was soon involved in two or three sharp engagements, in which the enemy was routed each time and some prisoners captured. The enemy persisted in demonstrations toward the Union capitol as a feint, or to get vantage ground in the rear of the Union army. In the meantime the Union left continued to cross the Chickahominy and to threaten Richmond. This flank was attacked by a strong force of the enemy at Fair Oaks where a bloody battle was fought May 31st and June 1st. Here the enemy was routed with greater loss than suffered by the Union forces; and his pickets were pressed back to within five miles of Richmond. Further advance against the enemy at this time seemed impracticable, and the men in the new Union lines contented themselves with the thought of being well in advance of their former front.

The composition of General Slocum's division June 20th, 1862, was as follows: Officers, 393; men in the ranks, 8,853; present and equipped for duty, 9,246. The aggregate number in camp was 9,841. Those absent, sick and wounded numbered 1,236.

CHAPTER VIII

Ending of the Peninsular Campaign

Among the reinforcements of the enemy at this time, hurriedly brought from a distance to aid in the protection of Richmond, was General Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's command of rapid fighters. The approach of this formidable command decided McClellan to change his base of supplies and operations from the York and Pamunkey to the James River, but a few miles south of the Chickahominy. McClellan fully realized the great danger of this movement at this time when about to be assailed by a supposed superior force in numbers; but the dangerous Confederate gunboat *Merrimac* having been destroyed by the Union *Monitor* in Hampton Roads left the James River open to Union gunboats which could be used in different ways as supports. The change of base was, therefore, hopefully entered up-

on the evening of June 26th. An unexpected advance of the enemy across the Chickahominy above the Union forces disarranged some of McClellan's plans, which were soon righted, and the change was more than compensated for by the delay of Jackson's expected attack.

This attack occurred soon after noon of June 27th near Gaines' Mill, and it was rapid and general along General Porter's chosen position upon an elevation known as Gaines Hill. At two P. M. General Porter asked for reinforcements. General Slocum's division hastily responded from the south side of the Chickahominy, and succeeded in arriving to his support at 3.30 P. M. Slocum's troops were immediately distributed along the weaker parts of Porter's hard-pressed line, increasing his force to about thirty-five thousand men, which was estimated, as usual by McClellan, to be contending with at least double this number of the enemy.[19] The distribution of Slocum's men prevented Porter's line from being broken by the enemy, and thus saved the battle, "as its being pierced at any one part would have been fatal." (McClellan.) About seven P. M. the enemy again attacked the Union line impetuously with fresh troops, and succeeded in pressing back Porter's left and causing there some confusion, which was righted by the time of the arrival of fresh Union troops and without their entering the contest. The shade of night was now come, and the enemy retired.

The following extracts from his Diary of the Battle of Gaines Mill was contributed to the National Tribune, Washington, D. C., of February 27, 1913, by William B. Westervelt of Newburgh, New York, member of Company F, 27th Regiment, New York Volunteers. It possesses features of interest, namely: "On Friday, June 27, at 8 A. M. we were called into line and, after receiving a fresh supply of cartridges, we moved in light marching order about two miles and stopped near the Chickahominy River. Our brigade never looked better than it did that morning. General Slocum (our first Colonel) had been advanced to the command of our division, while General J. J. Bartlett (our second Colonel) commanded our brigade that was made up of the 5th Maine (hardy lumbermen from the northeastern part of that State, and were commanded by Colonel Jackson); the 96th Pennsylvania (from the coal regions of Lu-

zerne County and commanded by Colonel John Cake, whom the soldiers dubbed Johnnycake); the 10th New York (from St. Lawrence County, commanded by Colonel Joseph Howland who, the day before at his own expense, had furnished his regiment with neat, comfortable straw hats). We who were wearing our fatigue caps that hot morning looked with envious eyes at Howland's regiment. As the Colonel rode at the head of his regiment no one would have believed him to be the brave and dashing officer that ere the sun went down he proved himself to be. My regiment, the 27th New York, was also in this brigade, and was commanded by Colonel Alexander D. Adams, of Lyons, New York, a man of education and refinement, but lacking the dash of our former Colonel Slocum. We remained quiet during the day, stretched out in the shade, where we ate our dinner. We could hear the sound of cannon on the opposite side of the Chickahominy, little thinking that it would be the last day on earth for many of our immediate comrades. General Fitz John Porter with his corps was gradually falling back from Mechanicsville and Gaines Mill, but gallantly disputing the ground inch by inch, under the incessant hammering of Stonewall Jackson's army, heavily reinforced from Lee's army from around Richmond. About 4 P. M. the Duc de Chartres, a young officer from France who was on General McClellan's staff arrived and, after a few hurried words with General Slocum, galloped away. Soon our division was in line, and we supposed we were to return to camp. However, we turned to the left and took the road towards Woodbury's Bridge across the Chickahominy. Years afterwards General Porter paid the following tribute to our division: 'While withdrawing from Beaver Dam I had seen, to my delight, Slocum's Division of Franklin's Sixth Corps crossing the river to my assistance. McClellan had promised to send it, and I needed it; it was one of the best divisions of the army. Its able, experienced and gallant commander and his brave and gifted subordinates had the confidence of their well-trained soldiers. They were all worthy comrades of my well-tried and fully trusted officers, and of many others on that field subsequently honored by their countrymen.' After crossing the river we ascended a hill, when there was plain evidence that our army (Porter's command) was getting the worst of the fight. One evidence was

that of a company of pioneers was cutting the spokes out of some of our army wagons, to render them useless if they fell into the hands of the enemy. This clearly proved that Porter's command anticipated retreating, if it was not already doing so. We halted a few moments in a small ravine, when up rode a staff officer and called out 'Bring up Bartlett's Brigade at double-quick.' With an agility that would have done credit to an athlete General Bartlett sprang into his saddle and, calling 'Attention,' we were soon quickly moving to the front. One hundred yards brought us face to face with the enemy, when we relieved (took the places of) the 5th New York (Duryea's Zouaves) whose showy uniforms were strewn thickly over the ground, showing some desperate fighting. We immedately got to work and for a few minutes the fighting was fast and furious. We lost many, but managed to hold our ground. Soon the firing slackened in our immediate front as the enemy fell back under cover of some woods where they seemed to be massing on our right in front of one of our batteries which was supported by the 16th New York, holding the extreme right of our line. We were not kept in suspense long. On looking to the right of our regiment we saw them forming just outside of the woods and here we witnessed as complete a move by the enemy as could be made on drill or parade. They came out of the woods at double-quick with guns at right-shoulder shift (Hardee's tactics) and by a move known as 'on the right by file into line' they formed the line of battle complete. Every man on taking his place brought his gun to shoulder, and stood waiting until the battalion was formed (unless knocked over by a shot), when they moved forward and made room for another battalion to form in the same way. We thought that troops who could make that move under concentrated fire of artillery and musketry were, to say the least, 'safe to bet on.' We had not long to admire them. Forward they came, intending to strike our line on the right. Not a gun did they fire until within less than fifty yards when, after a volley, they gave a yell and charged, five lines deep. No single line, as ours, could withstand such onslaught. The 16th New York was crowded back, disputing the ground inch by inch, while the artillerymen stood by their guns until the enemy closed in and actually struck them down or knocked the cartridges out of their

hands. Now Colonel Howland got in his grand work. He was riding from right to left of his regiment, urging his men to stand firm. Soon they rallied and under the lead of the Colonel they drove the enemy back and recaptured the battery. Here Colonel Howland was severely wounded, and was carried from the field. Once more the enemy came forward, and the word was passed down the line, 'help the 16th.' Without waiting for Colonel Adams to give the order, but following the example set by General Bartlett and led by his brother Lieutenant L. C. Bartlett of the General's staff, we turned by the right flank and were soon among the 16th, each man on his own hook! There was then done some of the most desperate fighting. The blue and the gray were mixed, and in the gathering darkness we could scarcely detect friend from foe. The ground was fairly covered with the dead and wounded of both sides. Every artillery horse was killed. Finally the enemy dragged off two of the cannon, while we held possession of the ground and kept the other two. As night closed upon us the second of the 'Seven Days' Fight' in front of Richmond was ended; and the writer, with a dislocated ankle, limped to the rear using his Springfield rifle as a crutch.''

During the night the Union forces retired to their comrades with their trains, on the south side of the Chickahominy, the rear guard being composed of infantry regulars who crossed early in the morning of June 28th, destroying the bridge behind them. The result of this Battle of Gaines' Mill resulted as favorably as the commanding general expected—to hold the enemy in check on the left (north) bank of the river until night in order that the wagon trains and artillery might be safely crossed and well on the way to the James River before morning.

The evening of June 28th General Slocum received orders from McClellan to move his division to Savage's Station early the next morning, and to hold that position during the day to cover and protect the movement of wagon trains, and then to fall back across the White Oak Swamp and join the army. Slocum arrived at the Station as directed, and there received orders to cross the Swamp at once and relieve General Keyes' corps. Keyes, being thus relieved, moved his corps to the James River where he arrived safely with all his artillery and supplies. This change of order for General Slocum kept him away from the

beginning of the battle at Savage's Station. General Franklin was ordered to hold the passage of White Oak Swamp Bridge and to cover the withdrawal of the army trains from that point. The trains were delayed by taking the wrong road, repairing the road, and from causes not reported at the time; and the engineers did not send their report as ordered.

About 12.30 P. M. of June 30th, while General Slocum with his division was on the right of the Charles City Road, the enemy attacked the divisions of Smith and Richardson and the brigade of Naglee at White Oak Swamp Bridge. At two P. M. the enemy advanced in force by the Charles City Road and was met by such vigorous opposition from Slocum's artillery that he deflected and attacked McCall's division which was compelled to retire after a severe engagement. Generals Slocum, Kearney, and Taylor soon occupied the field vacated by McCall, and drove back the enemy, who then retired from the contest. These engagements were styled the Battle of Glendale, which "was the most severe action since the Battle of Fair Oaks." (McClellan). Among the enemy at Glendale were the commands of the strong Confederate Generals Longstreet and A. P. Hill.

"There is a story told, by those who know, of a night when Colonel Calvin E. Pratt (afterward general, now judge of the Supreme Court) stumbled into Slocum's tent, drenched from head to foot with his own blood, having come two days' march from the Gaines Mill battle-field, where he had been left for dead. Slocum was asleep, but hearing that he had had nothing to eat for thirty-six hours, Pratt woke him and tendered him some French soup put up in a metal phial that gave up its contents when squeezed. Slocum did not recognize the exceeding grim-looking angel of mercy, but he took the soup, and afterwards said that though by waking he had left a wonderful banquet, of which he had been dreaming, that soup was well worth the loss of the delusion."[113]

This nearly exhausted condition of General Slocum is briefly mentioned in his letter to his wife, given on the following page.

Early in the morning of July 1, 1862, that part of the Union army engaged at Glendale arrived at Malvern Hill by the James River with the Reserve Artillery and supply train, to take part in the battle there already begun. Slocum, with his division, took position on the right wing of the Union army. The

enemy was here in force, and was repulsed with great loss. The Union gunboats in the James River acted a part in this battle. This ended the Seven Days' Battles of General McClellan with his Army of the Potomac in its Peninsular Campaign.

This army then moved a few miles down the left bank of the James and chose, and occupied, desirable ground for encampment at Harrison's Landing and Harrison Bar. Here was afforded time and opportunity for the much needed rest and recruiting of greatly depleted strength; and the first opportunity for writing at much length to friends at home, and for the officers' preparation of their official reports of the momentous Seven Days' Battles.

CHAPTER IX

Letters. Reports. Promoted Major General

Harrison's Landing, Virginia, July 10, 1862.

Dear Wife:

My last letter to you, written two or three days ago, was rather blue I think. I had then been here a day or two, and the reaction from the excitement of the previous ten days weighed heavily upon me. I felt weak and sick. I now feel better. But I must say that although this army is safe, I do not think the prospect of an early and successful termination of the war is bright. . . . .

I spoke in my letter of the twenty-sixth of being unwell. I was very weak on the twenty-seventh; was taken with a fit of vomiting and was obliged to dismount for a few minutes. I soon returned to the field, or rather did not leave the field, but went to a place in the shade.

. . . On Monday I had a position assigned to my division which I was to defend. I did it in my own way, and have the satisfaction of knowing that I saved hundreds of lives. I tried to save life by carefully posting my troops and using my artillery. I have allowed matters connected with our movements here to worry me until I came near being sick; but I know it can do no good. Things must take their course, and I made up my mind to get a good novel and try to forget everything here.

I feel better to-day than I have for several days. Rest and quiet will soon make me all right. I dreamed every night after our arrival here of being on the march, of losing wagons, artillery, etc. I do not want you to think I have been sick, but I got rather worn and nervous.

Reports of Brigadier-General Henry W. Slocum, U. S. Army, commanding First Division, of the Battle of Gaines' Mills,

action at Bracketts, and Battles of Glendale (Frazier's Farm) and Malvern Hill.

Hdqrs. First Division, Sixth Provisional Corps,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 8, 1862.

Sir: On the 27th June last, in obedience to orders received from General Franklin, I ordered the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Newton to cross Alexander's Bridge to the left bank of the Chickahominy to the support of General Porter. The order was received at 2 o'clock P. M. and the brigade immediately moved in light marching order. At 2.30 P. M. I was ordered to cross at the same point with the remainder of my division. The movement was executed at once, and General Taylor's brigade crossed at about 3 P. M., followed by the brigade of Colonel Bartlett.

On my arrival near the field I was met by a member of General Porter's staff, who directed me to place one brigade near the right of the line of battle and another on the left of the first brigade. General Newton's brigade was at once formed in two lines, of two regiments each, the first line deployed, the second in double column, and moved to the point designated, accompanied by Lieutenant Upton's battery (D), of the Second U. S. Artillery.

This brigade was subsequently, by order of General (Fitz John) Porter, directed to enter the woods in front of them, two regiments at one point and two at another. The Thirty-first New York and Ninty-fifth Pennsylvania, under the immediate command of General Newton, stormed the woods which were then occupied by the enemy in very strong force, and maintained their position more than two hours under a most galling fire and against greatly superior numbers. The other two regiments of this brigade, the Eighteenth and Thirty-second New York, under command of Colonel Roderick Matheson, of the latter regiment, occupied a position on an eminence near the woods occupied by General Newton until nearly all their ammunition was exhausted, when they were ordered to retire to a position in the rear, where a new line was formed.

The New Jersey brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. G. W. Taylor, on its arrival on the field was formed in the same order as that of General Newton, and on arriving near the line of battle its regiments were ordered into the woods. The Fourth New Jersey, under command of Col. J. H. Simpson, was detached from the brigade and ordered to an advanced position in the woods, where cut off from the rest of our troops, the greater portion of it, together with its gallant Colonel and all of its officers except those who had already fallen, were taken prisoners. The remaining regiments of the brigade maintained the positions assigned to them until their ammunition was expended and our entire line withdrawn. This brigade was accompanied by and supported Hexamer's battery (A), of the First New Jersey Artillery.

Having received no specific directions as to the disposition of the remaining brigade under command of Col. Joseph J. Bartlett, of the Twenty-seventh New York, I directed Colonel Bartlett to take position on the ex-

treme left of the line, near the new road leading through the valley from Doctor Gaines' house to Alexander's Bridge. On approaching the point indicated Colonel Bartlett found our troops engaged to the right of his position, and immediately moved his brigade to their support. He was subsequently ordered to the right of the line to support General Sykes, whose troops, fatigued by the long contest of this and the previous day, were nearly overpowered by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Porter's battery (A) of the First Massachusetts Artillery, was assigned to the command of Colonel Bartlett, and remained with his brigade during the day.

For detailed accounts of the operations of the several brigades of my command I would respectfully refer you to the reports of the brigade commanders, copies of which are herewith inclosed. It will be seen from the reports that not only were the brigades of the division separated from each other, but at least in two instances was the brigade organization broken up and regiments detached to hold isolated positions in the woods. As to the conduct of the officers and men of my division, I have only to say that the division entered the field 8,000 strong, and that the list of killed, wounded and missing amounts in the aggregate to 2,021. These lists attest the devotion and heroism of officers and men. Notwithstanding this fearful loss (including as it does many of the bravest and best officers of the division) all the regiments left the field in good order, and returned to their camps in the same compact and orderly manner that characterized their march to the scene of conflict.

The brigade commanders, Generals Newton and Taylor and Colonel Bartlett, are each entitled to the greatest praise, not only for their heroic conduct on the field, but for their untiring efforts after the close of the action in bringing off the wounded and in maintaining order and steadiness amid the prevalent confusion.

The loss of the division in officers was particularly severe, not only in numbers but in the character of those killed and wounded. Colonel Tucker and Major Ryerson, of the Second New Jersey, and Lieutenant-Colonel Heath, of the Fifth Maine, were killed while gallantly discharging their duty. Their loss is deeply felt in their regiments and throughout the division, and will be lamented by a wide circle of friends. Colonel Gosline and Major Hubbs, of the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania, and Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh, of the Sixteenth New York, were mortally wounded while in the thickest of the fight and have since died. Colonel Howland, of the Sixteenth New York; Colonel Pratt, of the Thirty-first New York; Colonel Jackson, of the Fifth Maine; Major Gardner, of the Twenty-seventh New York, and Major Hatfield, of the First New Jersey, were so severely wounded as to be rendered unfit for duty. Over the fate of Colonel Simpson, Lieutenant-Colonel Hatch, and Major Birney, and the other officers of the Fourth New Jersey, hangs a painful uncertainty. They either rest in a soldier's grave or have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Of the many other officers of less rank—the non-commissioned officers and soldiers—I cannot here write in detail. Like soldiers and like men

they performed their duty and met their fate, and a grateful country will long bear them and the thousand nameless heroes of this conflict, who have offered up their lives at the nation's shrine, in lasting and honored remembrance.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Brig.-Gen. of Volunteers, Commanding First Division of Sixth Corps.

CAPT. FRED T. LOCKE, Asst. Adjt.-Gen. Hdqrs. Fifth Provisional Corps.

Hdqrs. First Division, Sixth Provisional Army Corps,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 10, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of the movement of the division under my command from the close of the Battle of Gaines' Hill, on the 27th ultimo, until its arrival at its present position.

The division returned from the field of battle at Gaines' Hill at about 11 P. M., leaving on the field in killed, wounded and missing one-half of its regimental commanders, about one-fourth of all the other officers, and at least one-fourth of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had so recently crossed the river to the support of General Porter. The men, weary with the labors and excitement of the day, were allowed but little rest. Early the following morning their camps at Courtney's were changed to a position where they could be better sheltered from the fire of the enemy's batteries planted at Garnett's and Gaines' Hills. The same evening (the 28th) orders were received by me to move the division to Savage's Station, there to await further orders. The movement commenced at 11 P. M., but was so delayed at Trent's Hill by the passage of other troops that the division did not arrive at Savage's until about 5 A. M. on Sunday, the 29th.

At this place I received orders from General McClellan in person to move the division across the White Oak Swamp. We crossed at 2 P. M., and at 5 P. M. I was ordered to proceed to a point on the Long Bridge Road, about 1 1-2 miles beyond the swamp, to relieve the divisions of Generals Couch and Peck, both of whom were under orders to proceed to the James River on the arrival of my command. The division reached this place at 7 P. M., and full one-half of the effective force was immediately sent out on picket duty for the night. On the following morning I took position on the Charles City Road, about 1 mile from its junction with the Long Bridge Road and about an equal distance from Brackett's Ford.

In anticipation of an attack by a force said to be approaching on the Charles City Road this road was blockaded as thoroughly as possible. Soon after our arrival our line was established, and Upton's battery (D), Second Artillery, and Porter's and Hexamer's Volunteer batteries placed in position. The infantry necessary to support the artillery was posted on the flanks of the batteries, and the remainder so disposed as to be entirely protected from the fire of the enemy's artillery. The bridge near Brackett's Ford was destroyed by our troops immediately after our arrival, and an infantry force, with one 12-pounder howitzer of Hexamer's battery, placed to defend the position. At 10 o'clock the enemy appeared at this point and attempted a reconstruction of the bridge, but was repulsed.

At 11 A. M. our pickets on the Charles City Road were driven in and the enemy immediately appeared in full force in a large open field in our front, their position being partially screened from our view by a narrow belt of woodland. They opened fire from two batteries, which was at once replied to by Porter's and Upton's batteries and two pieces of Hexamer's battery. Our artillery, with the exception of the two pieces of Hexamer's battery, was exceedingly well served.

About this time a large body of infantry and some artillery which had approached our lines by the Charles City Road and moved to our left, and were brought against the troops of Generals Kearny and McCall. The artillery fire was continued by the enemy in our front until nearly dark, but our troops were so well covered that we suffered but few casualties, our total loss not exceeding 25 in killed and wounded.

At 7 o'clock it was reported to me that the left of our line, held by General Heintzelman, was severely pressed, and the fire of the enemy in our front having ceased, I ordered the brigade of Colonel Bartlett to move to the front and gain possession, if possible, of the field on which the enemy first appeared. As soon as his brigade moved down the road leading to this position a strong force of the enemy's infantry appeared, drawn up in line a short distance beyond a creek separating our position from that held by the enemy. Upton's battery of light 12-pounders was at once moved to the front and a very effective fire of canister opened upon them, which caused their well-formed lines to disappear.

At this time General Heintzelman arrived on the field, and at his suggestion I ordered the First New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Taylor, to the support of General Kearney. Under the circumstances I deemed it imprudent to attempt an advance.

Our position during the entire day was defended mainly by our artillery, which on this, as on all other occasions, was most admirably served. Of Upton's battery (D) Second Artillery, and Porter's battery (A) First Massachusetts Volunteer Artillery, I cannot speak too highly. The officers and men of both these batteries have on all occasions manifested that coolness and bravery so necessary to this branch of the service. Hexamer's battery has usually been well served, but on this occasion the two pieces under command of a lieutenant (since resigned) were poorly handled, and proved of but little assistance. Captain De Russy's battery, of the Fourth Artillery, and Captain Randolph's Volunteer battery were in position on our line during a portion of the day, and did good execution. To Captain E. R. Platt, chief of artillery, I am greatly indebted, not only for his services during both the recent engagements, but for his unceasing care and vigilance on the march. The fire on our left was continued until a late hour in the evening, and at times the shells and even musket balls from the enemy fell in the road directly in rear of our position.

At 9 P. M., having expended nearly all our ammunition and being entirely destitute of rations, I sent a staff officer to general headquarters to report our condition. At 11 P. M., having permission of General Heintzel-

man, I moved the division to Malvern Hill. We arrived at this point at daylight, and at 9 A. M., the 2d instant, moved to a position on the right of our line. From the time of our arrival until the commencement of the engagement on this day the men were employed in constructing abatis and otherwise strengthening our position. During the engagement on our left the division was under arms.

At 11 P. M. orders were received to move to our present position, where we arrived at daylight on the 3d instant. During this entire week the troops were allowed scarcely an hour of undisturbed rest either by night or day, yet the division marched into its present camp in good order, leaving very few stragglers, and without the loss of any arms, ammunition, clothing, or wagons, and with a cheerfulness prevailing among the soldiers as well as officers which to me was as astonishing as it was gratifying.

Great credit is due to the brigade commanders, Generals Newton and Taylor, and Colonel Bartlett, for their vigilance and untiring efforts on the field as well as on our night marches. They were constantly with their commands, cheering them by noble example as well as by words.

To the members of my staff, Captain Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general; Captain Hopkins, quartermaster; Captain Sturdevant, commissary of subsistence; Lieutenants Wead, Shannon, and Guindon, aides, and Surgeon Burr, I am greatly indebted. They were with me during the entire week, and proved very efficient in the discharge of their respective duties.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Brigadier-General Volunteers, Commanding.

CAPT. E. SPARROW PURDY, Assistant Adjutant-General.

The opposing forces engaged in the Seven Days' Battles numbered as follows: The Army of the Potomac was composed of 150 regiments of infantry; 2 regiments and 1 battalion of engineers; 1 regiment of heavy or siege artillery; 58 batteries and 10 regiments of cavalry. The Confederate forces were composed of 173 regiments and 12 battalions of infantry; 71 batteries; and 12 regiments of cavalry.

The Union losses during the Seven Days Battles were: Killed, 1,734; wounded, 8,062; missing, 6,075; total, 15,849. The Confederate losses were: Killed, 3,478; wounded, 16,261; missing, 875; total, 20,614.[113] The losses at the Battle of Gaines Mill alone were: Union, killed 894; wounded, 3,107; missing, 2,836; total, 6,837. Confederate, total, killed and wounded, 8,751.

General Slocum was again cheered by even greater recognition and appreciation of his services than before, in his promotion to the rank of Major-General by President Lincoln, Chief,

and the War Department, the commission bearing date July Fourth, 1862. Surely this was a rapid rise to the command of numerous batteries of artillery, and of many thousands of men by a man who, but a little over one year before, could not get the consent of the Governor of his State to organize one light battery. This was a graceful recognition unsolicited by himself or friends of his conscientious devotion to duty, a characteristic that led to yet broader and more valuable service; as the President and War Department were anxious to advance their worthy officers.

A period of comparative quiet to the Army of the Potomac now followed. The camps were put in good condition, and the defensive features were strengthened. The Richmond forces of the enemy often appeared threateningly, and then withdrew their main forces, leaving at Malvern Hill a medium force, which was soon routed, and the scattered enemy disappeared. Coming down the south side of the James, the enemy placed a battery of artillery one night at Coggins' Point opposite the Union encampment, and with it killed ten Union soldiers, and did other harm. This battery was soon silenced by Union artillerists who then constructed a battery in its place that stopped further mischief. The country on both sides of the James was kept well under observation, and numerous scouting parties of the enemy were punished and scattered.

All parts of the army were in different ways kept in good exercise. The hot season caused much malaria, and this, with its complications, caused much sickness. August 3rd the sick list of the Union army at Harrison's Landing and vicinity numbered 12,500 persons.

Reinforcements for advance on Richmond had repeatedly been requested by McClellan; and at times they were promised; but the enemy again began to threaten Washington and, August 3rd, the authorities there sent an order for McClellan to withdraw the army at once from the James River and to transport it up the Potomac to the mouth of Aquia Creek, to aid General Pope in the protection of Washington, and to there combat the enemy while formulating plans against Richmond from that quarter. This was a severe blow to McClellan's plans and desires, but he at once began preparations to comply with the order, and at the same time renewed correspondence with Washington

in defense of his plans for the attack of Richmond by way of the James River. Better protection of Washington was insisted upon by the War Department, and McClellan was urged, harshly he thought, to hasten the army's coming to the aid of General Pope, who was south of Washington.

The shipping facilities for even the wounded and sick were inadequate on the James, and it was necessary for those able to walk to join the marching columns.

When the order to break camp was sounded, the readiness with which the army, artillery, and army wagons disappeared from the grounds was astonishing. Major-General Slocum's command took up the march August 16th, and moved this day to Charles City Court House, a distance of seven miles; the next day they crossed the Chickahominy River at Barrett's Ford, marching a distance of fourteen miles; the 18th they passed through Williamsburg, having marched fifteen miles; the 19th to Yorktown, twelve miles on the way; the 20th to Young's Mill, fourteen miles; the 21st the march extended nine miles to Newport News, where the soldiers embarked on transports for the Potomac River, August 22nd and 23rd.

CHAPTER X

To Alexandria. Battle of Manassas

After seeing his men and subordinate officers on board transports at Newport News, General Slocum was fortunate in obtaining more rapid transit to his destination that he might make arrangements for their landing and reorganization. His corps, the Sixth, arrived at Aquia Creek, the designated landing, late the 24th of August and, Slocum having found the wharves there small and fully occupied, it was decided to disembark the troops at Alexandria, a few miles above. Report had been made to the authorities at Washington, who directed that the Sixth Corps go into camp at Alexandria immediately upon its arrival.

There was not full feeling of accord between Generals McClellan, Pope, commanding the Union troops of the advance guard of Washington, and Halleck, their ranking officer at Washington, who had been most active in the correspondence with McClellan, and who would not now give definite answer to

McClellan's question regarding his future relation to Pope and the future operation of the army.

During the last few days the enemy had been appearing at intervals, here, there and elsewhere, and he had succeeded amazingly well in causing loss to the authorities in Washington of his whereabouts, and of even the Union General Pope and his troops. The authorities were even doubtful of proper protection to Washington before the arrival of the Army of the Potomac. Surely an evasive and wily enemy were the Confederates at this time.

Gradually McClellan learned something of the whereabouts of the parts of what he yet considered his own army, which had been quietly scattered by Halleck. Fitz J. Porter's Fifth Corps was marching on Warrenton Junction to reinforce Pope; Kearney had been at Rappahannock Station the day before, and Williams was at Falmouth.

The cavalry and artillery horses had not been received from the Peninsula. McClellan continued alert and acted promptly, so far as possible, on all orders received from Washington for the arrangement of troops and supplies.

In a communication dated August 31, 1862, Halleck released McClellan from all participation and responsibility in the battle thought then to be in progress by General Pope's command, closing in these words: "You will retain the command of everything in this vicinity not temporarily to be Pope's army in the field. . . . I beg of you to assist me in this crisis with your ability and experience."[19]

The infantry of General Slocum's division of the Sixth Corps arrived at Alexandria August 25th and 26th. The horses and artillery were received separately, only sixteen of the former being received by the 28th. On the 27th order came from General Halleck to send a brigade to Centerville, the enemy being reported at that place. In compliance with this order, General Slocum dispatched from his division General Taylor's brigade by railway train, which inadvertently ran into serious disaster. As this train arrived at the bridge over Bull Run it was assailed by four brigades, with artillery, of the Confederate A. P. Hill's division of Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's corps. The Union loss here was great, including the death of General Taylor,

a watchful and efficient officer. The brigade was withdrawn in good order, however, evidencing the high degree of discipline it had attained under directions of its chief commander, General Slocum.

With the meager receipts of horses and artillery August 28th by Slocum's command, attempts were made to collect a train to carry food to Pope's troops at the front, but facilities for accomplishing much in this work were wanting. Friday, August 29th, however, the Sixth Corps started for the front with orders to communicate with General Pope and, at the same time, guard communication with Alexandria, the starting point. The advance at Annandale, ten miles in front, reported that fugitives from Pope's command were constantly arriving there and giving information of a large force of the enemy near Fairfax Court House six miles distant. The ammunition of Slocum's men was short, they now having only ten rounds for each gun, and McClellan ordered a halt at Annandale during the night, and to proceed at six o'clock next morning. In the meanwhile ammunition and provision wagons had been hurried forward; and the Sixth Corps was further ordered to withhold movement for the protection of the oncoming trains.

Upon arrival at Fairfax Court House August 30th, General Slocum detached a brigade of infantry and a battery, under command of Colonel Alfred T. A. Torbert, with order to guard the junction of Little River and Warrenton Turnpike, between Centerville and Alexandria. Colonel Torbert later reported that about 8 o'clock of August 31st his brigade was attacked by the enemy with three pieces of artillery which caused confusion among the wagon teams then under his protection. He succeeded in driving the enemy away, and thereby preventing catastrophe to Pope's men, as well as avoiding loss of the trains. Pope had not placed protection at this point; and only to Slocum's keen discernment and good judgment were due the credit of providing for the driving of a dangerous part of the enemy from this vulnerable place. It was afterwards determined that this attack on Slocum's men was made by General J. E. B. Stuart the enemy's noted cavalry leader.

At 1.30 P. M. order was received from McClellan directing the other part of the Sixth Corps to join General Pope at once.

The troops accordingly moved through Centerville and, when about three miles beyond, many of Pope's men were met in wild retreat. The remaining part of Slocum's division, being in advance, was formed across the road in effort to arrest the frightened, fleeing mass, the different parts of which were promiscu-

MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM
At the Close of the Peninsular Campaign. Age 36 Years

ously struggling to get at the head of the retreat—a mass and press "as great as the First Bull Run Battle retreat of July 21st, 1861," said General Slocum. With great effort, by himself and men, they succeeded in gathering about three thousand of these panic-stricken soldiers in a somewhat protected place nearby; but from a flying report of a force of Confederate cavalry being

seen, though a mile distant, the fugitives forcibly broke through all guarding lines and continued a precipitate retreat. General Pope soon appeared, and directed the Sixth Corps to return to Centerville, at which place he desired to reform his line.

The next morning, August 31st, a detachment of the Sixth Corps, including artillery, was sent to Cub Run Bridge as rear guard to Pope's troops, the only protection between them and the enemy; and it secured peaceful movement of the long trains to safe stations. The Sixth Corps followed Pope to Fairfax Court House, and the next evening, September 2, it returned to guard and recruiting duties near Alexandria.

As soon as the Confederate general commanding, Robert E. Lee, became aware of the severity of the defeat of Pope's troops, and the somewhat disorganized condition of the Army of the Potomac, he left cavalry to watch and harass the broken Union forces, and the other defenses of Washington, and with his main army he moved rapidly to the invasion of Maryland, hoping to find there a double, or triple, gain—recruits for his own depleted forces; army supplies; and prestige at home and abroad, all or either one of which would detract from the Union. As a matter of course, the possibility of capturing Washington could but form at least a hope. This was the Confederacy's first bold, well-conceived, extra-Confederate territorial offensive movement.

Affairs were now, to some degree, in worse chaotic condition in Washington than at the defeat of General McDowell at the First Battle of Bull Run the preceding year. President Lincoln and his aids of the War Department again sought the counsel and assistance of General McClellan. He had been "released" from the Army of the Potomac, and was now restricted to duty in and immediately around Washington. After a long conference with him the President favored, under date of September 2, the brief order, that "Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defense of the capitol." This order was signed by Major-General Henry W. Halleck, and it was interpreted by McClellan to embrace soldiers in the field as well as those in the immediate fortifications; and it was well that he acted accordingly.

The same day McClellan ordered General Pope to distribute his forces near Washington. Franklin's Sixth Corps, with Slo-

cum's division, was in the advance at Alexandria. The Army of Virginia, composed of McDowell, Banks, and Fremont's commands, was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac, and General Pope was relieved from the service September 5th.[23]

CHAPTER XI

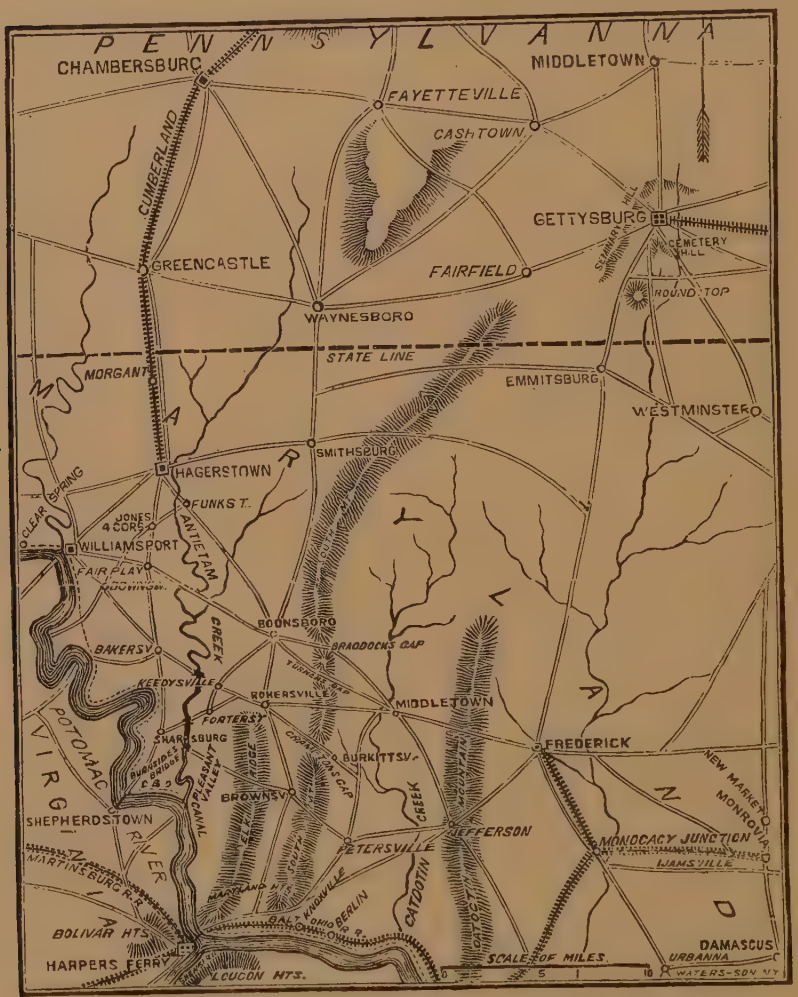
Maryland. Crampton's Pass and Antietam

Again General McClellan demonstrated his excellent organizing ability. He visited the different commands, chose his subordinate officers for the field, and incited them to immediate action for the filling of their depleted ranks by various newly recruited troops in or near Washington, or by those about to be received, and to otherways make preparation for immediate pursuit of the invading enemy, whose movements meantime had been kept under observation by scouting and harassing detachments of cavalry accompanied by artillery. Much work of preparation was necessary for the determined march against the foe, but the officers were generally equal to the arduous task required of them. All of the supplies of recruits and subsistence readily available were gathered and, trusting to be overtaken by others, the different forces moved rapidly forward.

From September 2nd to 6th General Slocum with his First Division of the Sixth Corps was at Alexandria, Virginia. On the 6th he marched by way of the Long Bridge over the Potomac, through Washington to Georgetown. The 7th the march was to Rabbit's farm beyond Tenallytown, District of Columbia. The 8th to Muddy Run, Maryland. Ninth, to Seneca Run beyond Darnestown. Tenth, to Barnesville. The 12th to near the Monocacy River, by way of Urbana. The 13th to the foot of Catoctin Mountain near Jefferson. September 14th the march extended across the Mountain, and through Jefferson and Burkittsville.

It was determined that the enemy was in Pleasant Valley at the west side of South Mountain, and guarding the two principal passes, Crampton's and Turner's, against the Union forces, which were on the east side. It was McClellan's desire to drive the enemy away from these passes in order that his own men could go through and defeat the enemy in sections.

Early in the afternoon of September 14th General Slocum was leading the column of his division toward Crampton's, and the work of clearing this pass devolved on him. Near Burkitts-



Showing the Relative Positions of South Mountain, Crampton's Pass, The Antietam, Harper's Ferry, Gettysburg and Frederick

ville he drove away the enemy's pickets, and found the enemy occupying the entire Pass with infantry intrenched behind stone walls at the foot of the east, proximal side; also with infantry

and batteries of cannon along up the side of the Mountain and Pass, the sharpshooters being behind trees and inequalities of the steep side. General Slocum led the attack in person. It required but few shots from his batteries and infantry to convince him that nothing but a vigorous and continued bayonet charge would rout the advantageously placed enemy. The lines were immediately formed accordingly, the men obeyed promptly, and they rushed over the intervening space, and stone wall, with a cheer and with volleys of handarms' fire that sent panic to the hearts of the Confederates not wounded, and caused a rout that extended throughout the Pass. Slocum and his men were quick to follow the dislodged and fleeing foe and, continuing as rapid a pace as possible, drove the part not slain or wounded of his enemy up and through the narrow, rough gap of great steepness and down into Pleasant Valley on the other side. The charge was so continuous and energetic that the enemy had no time to make a stand. This great feat required about three hours of most active and serious work.

The report of Major-General Slocum, U. S. Army, of the Battle of Crampton's Pass, Maryland, is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, SIXTH ARMY CORPS,
Camp in the Field, September 24, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor of submitting the following report of the action of this division in the engagement at Crampton Pass on the 14th instant:

The division encamped on the night of the 13th about 3 miles east of Jefferson, on the road leading from Urbana to Jefferson. At daylight on the 14th instant the division left camp, moved through Jefferson, and at 12 M. met the pickets of the enemy near Burkittsville. Colonel Bartlett, commanding the leading brigade, at once deployed the Ninety-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers as skirmishers, who drove in the enemy's pickets and advanced to the village. The other regiments of the division were then advanced to a position about half a mile east of the village, where they were completely concealed from the view of the enemy and covered from the fire of his artillery. Wolcott's First Maryland Battery was then advanced to a point to the left of the infantry, and replied to the enemy's artillery until preparations for the attack of the infantry were completed.

At 3 P. M. the column of attack was formed in the following order: The Twenty-seventh Regiment New York Volunteers deployed as skirmishers, followed at a distance of 200 yards by the Fifth Maine and Sixteenth New York Volunteers in line of battle; the brigades of General Newton and Colonel Torbert followed, each brigade being in two lines, the regiments in line of battle and the lines 200 yards from each other; the Ninety-

sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, of Bartlett's brigade, which had advanced into the village, formed in rear, and joined the column as it advanced; the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York Volunteers was held as a reserve at the point where the column was formed. As soon as the advance began, the enemy opened with a heavy and well-directed artillery fire, but the troops advanced steadily, every line in the entire column preserving its alignment with as much accuracy as could have been expected at drill or review. The line of skirmishers soon drew the fire of the enemy's infantry, which appeared in strong position in rear of a stone wall, which afforded them an admirable cover.

The position and strength of the enemy having been ascertained, the skirmishers were withdrawn, and Colonel Bartlett led the first line to a point within 300 yards of the enemy's line. A severe engagement ensued, the enemy having greatly the advantage in position, and being aided by at least eight pieces of artillery posted on the sides of the mountain. The position of this pass and its approaches rendered it evident that in the attempt to carry it reliance was to be placed mainly upon the infantry. I had, therefore, left all the artillery of the division in rear, but fearing that the stone wall behind which the enemy had taken cover would prove an insurmountable obstacle to the advance of my lines, I at once used every effort to bring forward a battery, with the view of driving the enemy from his position. But before the battery was fairly in position this obstacle had been overcome by a most gallant charge of the infantry, and the enemy were fleeing in confusion up the mountain, closely pursued by every regiment of the division except the one in reserve, each vying with the other in the pursuit. The enemy made another stand at the crest of the mountain, but were speedily dispersed and pursued through the pass and into the plain below. The victory was complete, and resulted not only in the utter rout and dispersion of the forces opposed to us, but in the capture of 300 prisoners, 3 stand of colors, over 700 stand of arms of the most approved pattern, 1 piece of artillery, and a very large number of knapsacks, haversacks, blankets, etc. The advance of General Brooks' brigade, of Smith's division, on the left of the pass, simultaneously with the advance of my division, did much toward the accomplishment of the work assigned to the corps, and rendered our victory more complete than it would otherwise have been.

Of the gallantry of the officers and men under my command I cannot speak too highly. Although greatly reduced in numbers by losses on the Peninsula, although fatigued by long marches and constant service since the opening of the spring campaign, each regiment—indeed, every man—did his whole duty, not reluctantly, but with that eagerness and enthusiasm which rendered success certain.

To attempt to designate any regiment, or any regimental or line officer, as being entitled to particular notice would be an act of injustice to all others. I cannot, however, without great injustice omit to call attention to the conduct of the brigade commanders, General Newton, Colonel Bartlett, and Colonel Torbert, all of whom led their brigades in the action, and

gave renewed evidence of their skill and courage. Colonel Bartlett, commanding the leading brigade, was, on this, as on all former occasions, conspicuous for his gallantry and skill with which he handled his troops under a most galling fire. I sincerely trust that both Colonel Bartlett and Colonel Torbert, commanding their respective brigades, both of whom have given abundant proofs of their qualifications for the position which they now occupy as brigade commanders, may be rewarded by the promotion they have so well earned.

I append a list of casualties, showing the number of officers killed, 5; wounded, 16; men killed, 109; wounded, 381. Total killed, 114; wounded, 397; aggregate loss, 511.

This list embraces many of the bravest and most gallant officers and soldiers of the division, for a more particular reference to whom I respectfully refer to the reports of the brigade commanders, which are herewith inclosed.

I am greatly indebted to the members of my staff, Major Rodgers, assistant adjutant-general; Lieutenants Guindon and Shannon, aides-de-camp, and to Captain Urquhart, of Colonel Bartlett's staff, for the zealous manner in which their respective duties were discharged.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General Volunteers, Commanding.

LIEUT. COL. OLIVER D. GREENE,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Sixth Army Corps.[24]

General Franklin reported that "the advance of General Slocum was made with admirable steadiness through a well directed fire from the enemy's batteries on the Mountain. . . . This single charge, sustained as it was over a great distance, and on a rough ascent of unusual steepness, was decisive. The enemy was driven in the utmost confusion from a position of strength and allowed no opportunity for even an attempt to rally, until the Pass was cleared and in possession of our troops. . . . The victory was complete, and its achievement followed so rapidly upon the first attack that the enemy's reserves, although pushed forward at the double-quick, arrived but in time to participate in the flight and add confusion to the rout. Four hundred prisoners, from seventeen different organizations, seven hundred stand of arms, one piece of artillery, and three stand of colors, were captured. . . . It was the completest victory gained up to that time by any part of the Army of the Potomac."[24]

"Slocum was a conspicuous figure in the charge, his soldierly bearing and fearless exposure of his person to the enemy's fire winning enthusiastic praise from the troops who fought by his side."[25]

The enemy contending for Crampton's Pass was numerous and from strong commands, including Munford's brigade of cavalry in Pleasant Valley, comprising the Second and Thirteenth Virginia Regiments, with Clem's battery and a section of the

Monuments at the Crest of Crampton's Pass to General Slocum's Men, and War Correspondents

Portsmouth battery of naval howitzers, supported by two regiments of Mahone's brigade of R. H. Anderson's division. General McLaws had, also, stationed the remainder of Mahone's brigade and the brigades of Semmes and Howell Cobb, of his own division, within supporting distance. General Cobb was in command of the Pass, with his strong forces well placed, and hidden by the trees on both sides of the narrow defile, with orders from McLaws to "hold the Pass if it cost every life in my command."

Generals Cobb and Semmes reported that after their lines were broken, all efforts to rally their troops were unsuccessful.[22]

General Slocum assailed a formidable position of the enemy and its carrying was a brilliant action, reported McClellan.

President Lincoln visited McClellan and the Army of the Potomac near the Battle-field of the Antietam in October, going through Crampton's Pass on his way thither. His attendants, from the army, pointed to the enemy's position and explained the work done by Slocum and his command. Lincoln expressed astonishment at what had been done, reported General Franklin.

General Slocum's 1st Division of General Franklin's VIth Corps was composed, September 14th to 17th, of three brigades of four regiments each, and four batteries of artillery, namely:

First Brigade, Colonel Albert T. A. Torbert commander; with the 1st New Jersey Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Mark W. Collet; 2nd New Jersey, Colonel Samuel L. Buck; 3rd New Jersey, Colonel Henry W. Brown; and 4th New Jersey, Colonel William B. Hatch. The IInd Brigade, Colonel Joseph J. Bartlett commander; with the 5th Maine Regiment, Colonel Nathaniel J. Jackson; 16th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Joel J. Seaver; 27th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander D. Adams; and the 96th Pennsylvania, Colonel Henry L. Cake. The IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General John Newton commander; with the 18th New York Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel George R. Myers; 31st New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis E. Pinto; 32nd New York, Colonel Roderick Matheson and Major George F. Lemon; and the 95th Pennsylvania, Colonel Gustavus W. Town. Artillery, Captain Emory Upton; Maryland Light, Battery A, Captain John W. Wolcott; Massachusetts Light, Battery A, Captain Josiah Porter; New Jersey Light, Battery A, Captain William Hexamer; and the Second United States Battery D, Lieutenant Edward B. Williston.[26]

General Slocum took great pride in his artillery arm, as well as in his infantry and other parts of his command. Having been several years in the United States artillery service as a young officer, and two years or more as instructor of artillery to the New York State Militia, he was able to bring this arm of his command to the same high degree of discipline and efficiency as were all the others always exhibited.

After his Battle of Crampton's Pass, General Slocum with his command bivouacked for the night literally astride of South Mountain, occupying the hard-won Crampton's Pass, and extending through it into Pleasant Valley not far from a considerable

force of the enemy that had there assembled. The next morning the other part of the Sixth Corps joined Slocum and formed in line of battle to attack the enemy; but he was, upon further investigation, found by General Franklin so numerous, and occupying such well chosen positions, that it was decided unwise to lead an attack. Later in the day the enemy withdrew toward Sharpsburg. September 15th and 16th were, therefore, passed in accordance with McClellan's directions, in guarding the rear of the Union Army, in more fully caring for the wounded, in completing the burial of the dead, and in getting the much needed rest from the previous day's exhausting work by Slocum and his men.

The evening of the 16th orders were received from McClellan directing that the Sixth Corps join the army next morning. The march was begun at 5.30 A. M. and the distance of twelve miles to the Battle-field of the Antietam creek was covered in about four-and-a-half hours. This corps had been needed near the Union center as a reserve that might be called to the point where most needed but, on its nearing the field, the Union right was so hard pressed by the enemy that it was immediately stopped for support there. Two brigades of General Slocum's division were formed in column to assault the woods that had been so hotly contested by Generals Hooker and Sumner, and the other brigade was formed as reserve. This enabled the Union forces on the right to reclaim and hold much ground that was important to them. Upon the arrival of these troops there was a lull on the part of the enemy, and General Sumner, in command of the Union right, directed postponement of further offensive operations. McClellan joined in this order "as the repulse of this [the Sixth], the only remaining corps available for attack, would imperil the safety of the whole army." The enemy, also, desired respite. Slocum's troops suffered somewhat from some further bombardment by the enemy to feel the temper of the Union forces, but they not continuing to reply the enemy soon ceased firing. September 18th more quiet prevailed, and the Union forces that were best able to work took the wounded to safe places, buried the dead, and prepared for renewal of the battle, orders having been issued to attack at daybreak next morning. But here, as elsewhere, McClellan was too slow. But

the enemy had received enough of battle at the Passes of South Mountain and the Antietam Creek. The latter part of the 18th, Confederate troops were brought over the nearby Potomac River from the Virginia shore and posted near the Union right as a ruse; and under cover of the night the main body of the enemy retreated into Virginia, leaving a bold front to the Union troops meanwhile. In the morning two reconnaissances discovered well stationed rear guards of the enemy strong enough to make the main body's retreat secure for some length of time.

General Slocum's report shows a severe strain upon his troops with comparatively small loss, namely:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST DIVISION, SIXTH CORPS,
Camp near Bakersville, September 26, 1862.

Sir: I have the honor to report that, early on the morning of the 17th instant, the division under my command left Crampton's Pass to join the main army, then already engaged with the enemy near Sharpsburg. We reached the battle-field about 12 M., and immediately took position in front of the white church, on the Hagerstown and Sharpsburg turnpike, relieving a portion of General Sumner's corps. Our infantry, though not actively engaged, were exposed to a heavy artillery fire from the enemy until sundown, and are entitled to great credit for their gallantry under a severe fire, which they were unable to return. The artillery of the division, under command of First Lieutenant Emory Upton, Fifth U. S. Artillery, was well served and did good execution. The batteries of Captain Hexamer, First New Jersey Volunteer Artillery; Captain Wolcott, First Maryland Volunteer Artillery; and Lieutenant Williston, Battery D, Second U. S. Artillery, were all engaged, and their fire proved very accurate and effective, twice silencing the enemy's guns, and holding in check a large force of his infantry.

The officers and men of the division lay or rested upon their arms in line of battle for over forty hours without leaving their position, and deserve great credit for their fortitude displayed on that occasion.

I append a list of casualties, showing a loss of 5 men killed, 2 officers and 56 men wounded, and 2 men missing, making a total loss of 65.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General Volunteers, Commanding.

LIEUT. COL. OLIVER D. GREENE,
Asst. Adj. Gen. and Chief of Staff, Sixth Army Corps.[27]

The Union forces engaged in the battles of Crampton's and Turner's Pass, of South Mountain, and at the Antietam Creek, Maryland, numbered 87,164, against 97,445 of the enemy. The Union forces did not lose a flag or cannon, but they captured

from the enemy 13 pieces of artillery, 39 flags, upwards of 15,000 stand of small arms, and more than 6,000 prisoners, besides the fields of battle (McClellan).[19]

The casualties of these battles were: Union, killed, 2,108; wounded, 9,549; missing, 753; total, 12,390. Confederate: Killed, 2,700; wounded, 9,024; missing, 1,800; total, 13,524.[113]

Report was received by McClellan September 19th, that Stuart's Confederate cavalry 4,000 strong, with 10,000 infantry and artillery, had appeared up the Potomac at Wililamsport, Maryland. This was probably a ruse to divide the Union forces to favor Lee's badly shattered corps seeking rest in northern Virginia. McClellan dispatched General Couch with good force, however, to hasten to Williamsport, also directing the Sixth Corps with Slocum's division to keep within supporting distance. Slocum was encamped for the night of the 19th by the Potomac opposite Shepherdstown, West Virginia. About midnight the 20th, he was called to advance on Williamsport, which place he occupied about two days. Stuart and his forces made good their escape without giving the Union forces opportunity for an engagement. General Slocum then proceeded down the Potomac, and his division encamped at the cross roads about a mile northwest of Bakersville, Maryland.

Good results of the United States Signal Service were well illustrated in the Battle of Antietam, and with the detachments of Union troops following the enemy afterward. A few excerpts relating to our subject are here given, viz.:

Sept. 17, 1862. At Hdqrs. Station, near Sharpsburg, Md.

. . . . . .

To General McClellan:

Reinforcements are badly wanted. Our troops are giving away. I am hunting for French's and Slocum's divisions. If you know where they are, send them immediately. General Sumner.

To MBN Station:

Where is General Sumner? Major Myer.

To Major Myer:

We are in communication with General Sumner.

MBN Station.

To Major Myer:

We have found General Slocum. He is near us.

Pierce and Barrett.

To General McClellan:

All is quiet this morning so far. The enemy's pickets are in front of us. General Sumner.

To General McClellan: 18th.

The rebels sent flag of truce this morning, asking to bury their dead. Flag was sent back. General Slocum.

. . . . . .

To Officers at Williamsport:

Ascertain and report if any movements of the enemy have been visible near Williamsport to-day. Major Myer.

To Major Myer:

There have been no movements visible. I report to Couch. Franklin is in command. Owen.

To General Franklin, Williamsport:

I have just sent you an order to move your command to near Bakersville; General Couch to Downsville, on the same road. You can move at once. The orderly will meet you. E. B. Marcy, Chief of Staff.[28]

At the termination of the enemy's invasion of Maryland, President Lincoln decided that this overt act required more active measures by him regarding human slavery, the great institution of the Southern States. He, therefore, published his historic Proclamation of Emancipation, September 22nd, and two days later this great article of liberty was officially proclaimed in the armies of the United States.

CHAPTER XII

Supply Delays. Commands XIIth Army Corps

The recent losses of the Army of the Potomac from battle, sickness, wounds, other deaths, and expiration of term of enlistment, had been so great that thorough reorganization was necessary. This work began at once, but progressed slowly from want of men and horses. Also most of the men remaining could not continue in very active service for want of clothing. A violent and often fatal disease rapidly spread among the horses of the different branches of the service, to the extent that the death and disabling of about four thousand were soon reported. Other serviceable horses could be obtained only in small number. McClellan was very active in his efforts to place his army upon a proper war basis. He obtained authority for the cavalry and artillery officers to purchase the necessary horses for their use; but the

contractors for the main supply remained unable to ship horses and other supplies only in small numbers and quantities, while the delays in the railway deliveries were embarrassing. Such were also the conditions of the clothing supply for the winter.

General McClellan, notwithstanding his difficulties in getting the army in favorable condition for an autumn campaign, had repeatedly received orders from Washington to move against the enemy who yet lingered not far from him across the Potomac. In his efforts to please these superiors before his departure, he placed the important protective point, as they thought Harper's Ferry to be, in charge of Major-General Henry W. Slocum, in whom they had implicit confidence.

General Slocum was assigned to the command of the XIIth Corps, of the Army of the Potomac, October 15th, with request that he enter upon its command as soon as practicable. This promotion was in acknowledgement of his eminent ability, and desirable soldierly qualities. This corps formerly belonged to the Army of Virginia as General N. P. Banks' corps and, also, as the IInd Corps, its number being changed September 12th, one week after the merging of the Army of Virginia in the Army of the Potomac. The XIIth Army Corps had been under command of Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams until September 15th, when he was succeeded by the venerable Major-General Joseph K. F. Mansfield, an officer of large and creditable experience. He was mortally wounded the next day in the Battle of Antietam, after which the command again devolved on General A. S. Williams.

The 20th of October General Slocum assumed command of the XIIth Army Corps when it was on duty in and around Harper's Ferry, and General Williams, an able officer, was again assigned to the command of the 1st Division of this corps, most of which division was then on Maryland Heights. General Slocum brought the discipline of this corps to such high degree of excellence as to make the names Slocum, the XIIth Army Corps, and efficiency, synonymous terms.

The same day General McClellan issued, in triplicate, to Generals Stoneman of the cavalry at Poolesville, Slocum at Harper's Ferry, and Couch now commanding Sumner's corps, a circular informing them that he was just notified by two refugees

that a large force of the enemy with artillery and cavalry were within two miles of the Potomac, and moving toward the ford two miles below Knoxville where there was a large corral of horses; and directing them to be on the alert to prevent the loss of the horses. General Slocum hastened forward with the Ist and IInd Brigades of the IInd Division of his XIIth Corps, also three hundred of the 6th New York Cavalry, and Knap's Pennsylvania battery, and they reconnoitered the Loudoun Valley, found traces of the enemy, pursued and overtook him at Hedgesville, West Virginia, where they routed him, capturing a number of prisoners.

The 25th of October General Slocum was directed by McClellan to move, the next morning, his IIIrd Division under General A. W. Whipple, across the river to occupy the ground between the bridge and Lovettsville. This division was thus detached from the XIIth Corps to accompany General Burnside's corps into Virginia in pursuit of General Lee's army. Slocum was further directed to keep the remainder of his corps in readiness to receive further orders, without taking down their tents at night.

On October 26th, Slocum moved his IInd Division from Loudoun Heights east of Harper's Ferry into the Shenandoah Valley. The 29th he moved this division to Bolivar Heights west of the Ferry, there relieving General Sumner's corps and doing picket duty along the south bank of the Potomac to the Shenandoah River.

General Slocum assigned the 124th and 125th Pennsylvania Regiments to the IInd Brigade of his Ist Division on October 26th. This brigade remained in Pleasant Valley near Sandy Hook, Maryland, until October 30th, when it was moved to Loudoun Heights and the eastern slope. The IIIrd Brigade remained on Maryland Heights at work strengthening the fortifications until October 29th when it was ordered to relieve General Fitz John Porter in guarding the country near the Battle-field of the Antietam, including the hospitals for the wounded and sick soldiers who had remained there. Thus, with a much weakened corps directly in hand, General Slocum kept active in visiting his not widely scattered detachments; and he kept them active in their work of drilling, fortifying, and in picketing duty.

The report of Brigadier-General Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, under date 1st of November, credited the forces of Major-General Henry W. Slocum's XIIth Corps as follows:

Twelfth Army Corps.	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Means of Transportation.						
			Horses.	Mules.	Army Wagons.	Two-horse Wagons.	Ambulances.	Cavalry.	Artillery.
Headquarters of Corps, including Artillery of First and Second Divisions	38	1,170	106	459	121	8	10	54	747
First Division— General A. S. Williams ..	572	13,374	444	551	188	1	61	23	
Second Division— Gen. J. W. Geary	436	8,501	480	189	128	1	39	5	
Third Division— Gen A. W. Whipple	272	5,508	171	331	79	23	10	7	215
Total	1,318	28,553	1,201	1,530	516	33	120	89	962

With the advance of the main part of the Union Army into Virginia, the Confederate forces became more active and threatening at every available place. General Slocum's task at Harper's Ferry was not an easy one. It required the exercise of broad soldierly training and high executive qualities. He was fully and well prepared for his duties as a corps commander. He had made rapid study of the XIIth Corps in general and in detail. He had rearranged a number of batteries, regiments, brigades, divisions and officers, placing the weaker ones where the duties likely to be required of them would be lighter. The stronger and more experienced were placed for heavy and important picket duty several miles along the Potomac to guard against the active cavalry detachments of the enemy which were now more frequently invading the region under his authority. Fortifications were hastily prepared of earth, trees and rocks on

the heights surrounding Harper's Ferry and covering approaches in all directions. Detachments of varying forces were made, in addition to those at Frederick, Sharpsburg, and Berlin, in Maryland, and at Keyes' Ford and Keyes' Gap, Virginia, and for reconnaissances far and near, thus keeping well informed regarding the country and of the enemy's trespassers.

Major-General George B. McClellan was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac by the War Department authorities at Washington November 7th, upon his arrival at Rectortown, Virginia, after he had issued his commands for the centering of the army around Warrenton the 8th and 9th. Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside had been chosen to succeed him and, his corps being near, he reported to McClellan at once when the command was turned over to him. This was information necessary for all Corps commanders to know. That this change was a grave mistake will be made apparent on a later page without intimation that no change was necessary.

Slocum made extended reconnaissance November 9th, with his IInd Division, up the Shenandoah Valley to Rippon, six miles from Berryville. A fleeing detachment of the enemy was discovered, which escaped but not without losing to Slocum's men a number of prisoners, arms, horses, and beef cattle. It was discovered that both of the Confederate Generals Hill, Ambrose E. and David H., also Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson had recently crossed the Blue Ridge Mountain at Front Royal, going toward the Army of the Potomac now under Burnside. This was important information which Slocum transmitted to Washington, and to Burnside. The enemy left in the Shenandoah Valley five regiments of cavalry and eight or ten pieces of artillery, part of which force fled before Slocum's men.

Frequent reports were required of commanders regarding the numbers and condition of their men and arms. November 10th, General Slocum's XIIth Corps was so scattered that there remained at Harper's Ferry ready for duty only 573 officers, with 14,864 enlisted men, and 6,393 sick and wounded in hospitals and camp, and including the few absent on furlough. Slocum had at this date fifty-one pieces of artillery.

A threatening report from the dangerous Confederate cavalry under Stuart and Munford came to Slocum November 12th.

This information was transmitted to Burnside, who turned it over to a nearer officer for his observation and possible action. There were frequent transmissions to, and receipts from, Washington and different headquarters, which conduced to a general knowledge of the situation throughout the field of all the army operations.

Slocum made another reconnaissance up the Shenandoah Valley November 26th with 600 infantry and two pieces of artillery, going as far as Charlestown. A skirmish was had at Cockrall's Mills with the enemy who was "routed with injury" to him. A number of prisoners, arms, and horses were captured by this Union force, also a quantity of flour. A cloth factory between Charlestown and Hallstown was destroyed. The VIIth and XIIth Virginia Cavalry were also met, routed, and their camp was destroyed. Return was made without casualty to this detachment, the members of which much enjoyed the expedition as a pleasant change from guard duty where they were being often harassed by the enemy's cavalry which was without serious harm but no opportunity offered to retaliate at the time. Altogether the expedition was quite like a holiday excursion to them.

Upon the return of this detachment, General Slocum made returns to Henry W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington, of the information gained from this and other sources regarding General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson's movements with his 30,000 men, the indications being that he might cross the Potomac between Harper's Ferry and Washington, and destroy railway communication if he did no other harm. Thereupon General George W. Morell at Hagerstown, Maryland, was ordered to patrol the Potomac with cavalry. The 28th of November General Halleck telegraphed Slocum asking: "What of the rebel forces? Anything about Jackson?" Slocum replied on the 30th, that the pickets of the enemy at his front had again disappeared, and his scouts reported that Jackson had left the lower Shenandoah Valley; that he passed through Strasburg Wednesday, and was moving toward Staunton; also that four contrabands (Southern negroes, former slaves) came to him this morning with the same report.

As General Burnside advanced with the main part of the army, rapidly moving detachments of Confederates, large and

small, became even more active. The authorities at Washington also became more active in their inquiries from the scattered commands regarding these raids. Slocum continued his surveillance of the Potomac and Shenandoah regions particularly. He reported to Halleck that he had sent General Geary, of his IInd Division, with about 4,000 infantry and artillery, with instructions to go up the Shenandoah to Winchester if he deemed it prudent. He also reported that he had not up to that date, December 4th, received any cavalry with which to facilitate reconnaissances. The next day he reported to Washington that four deserters from the enemy had come to tell that his reconnoitering force had arrived at Winchester. This force returned December 8th, and General Slocum at once reported to Burnside that it passed through Berryville, Winchester, and Bunker Hill; that it had captured 125 prisoners, including four officers, killed four and wounded twenty of the enemy. There was no Union loss of men or property. General Geary reported that Jackson's command passed through Thornton's Gap about the first of December and went towards Fredericksburg, Burnside's objective point, and the two Generals Hill went the same way. It was also gathered that the combined forces of these three commands did not exceed at that time 35,000 men.

CHAPTER XIII

Harper's Ferry. In the Grand Reserve

Upon his assuming command, General Burnside divided the Army of the Potomac into four Grand Divisions composed as follows: The IInd and IXth Army Corps to form the Right Grand Division under command of Major-General E. V. Sumner; the Ist and VIth Corps to form the Left Grand Division under command of Major-General William B. Franklin; the IIIrd and Vth Corps to form the Central Grand Division under command of Major-General Joseph Hooker. All three divisions were for unhampered advance against the Confederate army. Also there was to be a reserve force, called the Grand Reserve for what the War Department considered the most important work, the more immediate defense of Washington. This reserve was at first composed of the XIth Corps under Major-General

Oliver O. Howard, to be increased if necessary by such other forces as might be assigned to it from time to time, all to be under the general command of Major-General Franz Sigel. To this Grand Reserve Major-General Slocum and the principal part of his XIIth Corps were called December 9th, the call dispatch bearing date 3 A. M. when General Burnside was about to attack Fredericksburg.

General Slocum was advised of the best road to take from Harper's Ferry through to Dumfries, a few miles north of Burnside's headquarters, to aid in the defense of Washington principally, as Confederate cavalry were making frequent and annoying raids upon many places in that vicinity. Hastily forming his lines for the march, Slocum and his troops passed over the pontoon bridge across the Shenandoah River a little above Harper's Ferry, thence through Hillsborough, Wheatland, Leesburg, and Chantilly to Fairfax Court House, where one division arrived December 13th. Here Slocum telegraphed to Halleck, at Washington, that inasmuch as he was obliged to leave his Purnell Legion and the Third Delaware Regiment at Frederick, Maryland, and his Fifth Maryland regiment at Harper's Ferry, for the protection of those places, one of his best brigade commanders now had but two regiments; and Slocum requested three or four regiments sent to him from troops at Washington or elsewhere that could be spared. This request was complied with by troops sent from Washington by water, and Slocum received them by way of Aquia Creek.

The roads were in very bad condition, and at Fairfax Court House it was desirable that Slocum's artillery and cavalry horses be shod; but his call was urgent, and he was about to resume the march when he received dispatch from General Sigel requesting him to retain only three wagons for each regiment—one for officers, one for cooking utensils for the rank and file, and the other for small arms ammunition to contain ten boxes, all other necessary ammunition to be put in extra wagons—brigade and division staff one wagon; corps staff and Grand Reserve Division Headquarters two wagons, respectively; also to send all his baggage to Alexandria to be there transferred to Aquia Creek by water; to take two days' provisions besides cat-

tle; and to change the route of his march to Stafford Court House, nearer the place of battle. Another dispatch from General Sigel was received the 14th upon his, Sigel's, arrival at Stafford Court House at 6 P. M., which reads in part "I invite your attention again to the terrible condition the roads are in." Slocum's command resumed the march early next morning, but his progress was necessarily very slow on account of the deep and tenacious mud.

The day that Slocum's first division arrived at Fairfax Court House, Burnside's Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, was being fought with the advantage all in favor of the Confederates. In the afternoon of December 13th General Franklin of the Left Grand Division dispatched to Burnside that his left flank was in danger of being turned, and asked, "What hope is there of getting Sigel or Slocum across the river?" In Franklin's sore distress he longed for Slocum, his former right arm.

On December 16th, Sigel telegraphed to Slocum to remain where he was (between Wolf Run Shoals and Dumfries); to stop his baggage at Alexandria; to keep his cavalry well out to the right; and to call his (Sigel's) cavalry to his (Slocum's) command, and to order provisions and forage sent to Fairfax Station.

The General-in-chief of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, Robert E. Lee, was kept constantly informed by his cavalry and signal corps of General Slocum's whereabouts, as shown by Lee's official reports.

General Slocum's headquarters remained at the Village of Fairfax Court House for some length of time. His picket lines were very long, and for greater protection his command was divided into picket and more defensive centers, Dumfries being among the more important, next to Fairfax Court House.

On December 27th Slocum received dispatch from Colonel Charles Candy, commanding a XIIth Corps brigade at Dumfries, that he was attacked and needed reinforcements, which Slocum started immediately; but he soon recalled them on learning that the enemy had been repulsed by Candy. The enemy in this skirmish numbered about 2,500 cavalry with artillery under General Fitzhugh Lee. December 28th Slocum's advance line sighted

the enemy's cavalry and artillery at a distance of about three miles from Wolf Run Shoals; but they escaped and, Slocum passing on to Dumfries, telegraphed from there to the commanding general, Burnside, at Falmouth, as a suggestion to other commanders, that his, Slocum's, disposition of troops would be such that the enemy could not come his way "without a fight," Lee having escaped between other commands.

The report of the organization of the Army of the Potomac, December 31, showed the following composition of Major-General Henry W. Slocum's XIIth Corps, viz.:

Escort of the commanding general (Slocum), 12th Illinois Cavalry, Company A, Captain P. E. Fisher.

1st Division, Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams; 1st Brigade, Colonel Joseph F. Knipe, composed of infantry regiments as follows: 5th Connecticut, Colonel George D. Chapman; 10th Maine, Colonel George L. Beal; 28th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Cook; 46th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel James L. Selfridge, and the 128th Pennsylvania, Colonel J. A. Mathews. IInd Brigade, Brigadier-General Thomas L. Kane; with the 20th Connecticut, Colonel Samuel Ross; 123rd New York, Colonel A. L. McDougall; 124th Pennsylvania, Colonel J. W. Hawley; and the 125th Pennsylvania, Colonel Jacob Higgins. IIIrd Brigade, Colonel John K. Murphy; with the 27th Indiana, Colonel Silas Colgrove; 2nd Massachusetts, Major C. R. Mudge; 13th New Jersey, Colonel E. A. Carman; 107th New York, Colonel A. S. Diven; 29th Pennsylvania, Major Michael Scott; and the 3rd Wisconsin Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Hawley. Artillery, Captain Robert H. Fitzhugh; with the First New York, Battery K, Lieutenant E. L. Bailey; First New York, Battery M, Lieutenant C. E. Winegar; and the Fourth United States, Battery F, Lieutenant E. D. Muhlenburg. Cavalry: First Maine, Company H, Captain George S. Summat; and the First Michigan, Company L, Captain Melvin Brewer.

The IInd Division, Brigadier-General John W. Geary; 1st Brigade, Colonel Charles Candy: with the 5th Ohio Regiment, Colonel John H. Patrick; 7th Ohio, Colonel William R. Creighton; 29th Ohio, Colonel Lewis P. Buckley; 66th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene Powell; 28th Pennsylvania, Captain Joseph B. Copeland; 147th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Ario Pardee; 12th Illinois Cavalry, Colonel Hasbrouck Davis; 1st Maryland Cavalry, three companies, Captain J. H. Cook. IInd Brigade, Colonel Joseph M. Sudsburg: with 3rd Maryland Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert P. Robinson; 60th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel John C. O. Redington; and the 145th New York, Major R. L. Van Wagenen. IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General George S. Greene: with the 78th New York Regiment, Major H. C. Blanchard; 102nd New York, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Lane; 137th New York, Colonel David Ireland; 149th New York, Major Abel G. Cook; 109th Pennsylvania, Colonel

H. J. Stainrook; and the 111th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Cobham. Artillery, Major L. Kieffer: Sixth Maine Battery, Lieutenant Edwin Dow; Pennsylvania Battery E, Captain J. M. Knap; and Pennsylvania Battery F, Captain R. B. Hampton. Cavalry: First Maine, Company M, Captain G. M. Brown.

Different parts of this XIIth Corps were on more distant duties, and are not enumerated here.

During the first part of January, 1863, General Burnside prepared for another attack on the enemy at Fredericksburg and, as in his former unwise plan of attack, he wanted General Slocum's aid. January 13th he dispatched to Slocum at his headquarters, Fairfax Court House (where he had continued to guard the advance defense of Washington throughout a wide range westward from the Potomac) to have his XIIth Corps in readiness to move to his, Burnside's, support in twelve hours' notice, with three days' cooked rations in haversacks, and from six to eight days' bread and small rations in wagons, and with beef cattle for that length of time. But, as before, the enemy discerned Burnside's intentions, and began to strongly threaten Harper's Ferry and other Union forces guarding Washington; and Burnside saw that he must get permission from Washington to call Slocum to his support. Such permission was granted January 17th, and Burnside notified Slocum that he need not commence his march until the next Monday. January 19th at 3.25 P. M. another dispatch was received from Burnside directing Slocum to move his command "with all speed possible without breaking down his men, to the vicinity of Dumfries where he would receive further orders."

Copious rains had fallen, but the XIIth Corps entered nevertheless boldly upon its part of the "Mud March," though not to be defeated in humiliation like Burnside in his further unwise efforts in the mud nearly opposite Fredericksburg. The 1st Brigade and the 6th Maine Battery of Slocum's IInd Division had garrisoned the post at Dumfries for some weeks, and had near there an extended picket line. The main part of this division, and the 1st Division started from Fairfax Court House duty late in the afternoon of January 19th and took different ways to avoid each other's stirring of the mud.

The 1st Division halted for the night two miles beyond Wolf Run Shoals and by Occoquan Creek. The next day the march was continued to Dumfries. January 21st a three miles' march took the division to Chopawamsic Creek where it was obliged to bivouac during the night while a bridge was being built above the high flood waters. Upon arrival at Aquia Creek the next day its flood was too high to cross, and the division was again compelled to bivouac in the mud. Part of the men were without shelter, and most of them without rations, the supply train being deep in the mud three or four miles in the rear. January 23rd Aquia Creek was crossed, and the march was extended to Stafford Court House where the division went into camp; and it there remained on guard duty during the month.

The IInd Division marched three miles from Fairfax Court House in the evening of January 19th, and fifteen miles to Dumfries the 20th. The next day only three or four miles could be marched because of the flood of Quantico Creek. January 22nd return was made to the Quantico, and the march was continued to the Chopawamsic, a distance of four miles, through mud nearly impassable. The next day the march extended to Aquia Creek, four miles further; and the 24th another four miles to Stafford Court House, where it, also, took up guard duty near the other division.

This exceedingly difficult, and fruitless, march of General Slocum was thought by the Confederate commanding general, Lee, worthy of his report, in order to keep Slocum's advance in the mind of his generals. The march was only in keeping with General Burnside's unwise decision to advance on the enemy through such nearly impassable mud; which efforts were soon stopped by the protests of Burnside's nearby generals. General Slocum made no formal complaint against Burnside; but the generals of Burnside's three Grand Divisions carried complaints to the authorities at Washington. The result of the investigation that followed was the cause of General Slocum's former commander, the brave and efficient Major-General William B. Franklin, leaving the army. General Burnside's usefulness in the Army of the Potomac being at an end, he was transferred to a southwestern command.

CHAPTER XIV

Prepares for Chancellorsville Campaign

Major-General Joseph Hooker succeeded General Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac January 26th, 1863. The Chief Quartermaster's report at this date gave the transportation facilities of General Slocum's XIIth Corps as follows: Wagons, 450; ambulances, 125; team and ambulance horses, 1,185; cavalry horses, 171; artillery horses, 656; mules, 1,270; total number of animals, 3,282.

A period of rest was now enforced upon the Army of the Potomac by the inclemency of the weather, and the necessity for reorganization from losses in battle, and expiration of terms of enlistment. To this last named need the new commanding general gave prompt and energetic attention. Reports were required from officers showing character of their commands in detail January 31st, 1863. The report of General Slocum's Twelfth Corps was quite like the report of the month before, given on a preceding page, excepting a few changes of lower officers, with some new recruits.

Notwithstanding the severe weather, there was sufficient exercise of mind and body, in army schools including military recitations with ample practical examples in correct camp and picket duties, with the requirement of constant thoughtfulness conducive to good health, and to self control at all times and particularly in emergencies; and in all forms of military exercises.

By the report of February 2nd it is shown that the lesser part of the XIIth Corps, consisting of one division and one brigade, was stationed near Stafford Court House, fronting west, deriving the quartermaster's supplies from Hope Landing five miles distant, and the commissary supplies from Brooke's Station four miles distant. One brigade of the IInd Division was stationed at Aquia Creek Landing, convenient to all supplies. The main position extended its line of infantry pickets from Potomac Creek to Aquia Creek, connecting with the pickets of General Meade's Vth Corps.

The division of the Army of the Potomac into Four Grand

Divisions by Burnside was discontinued by the new commanding general February 5, 1863, the War Department concurring. It was thought that this doubling of army corps impeded the dispatch of its current business; and that the service the army was likely to be called on to perform would be adverse to the movements and operations of heavy columns. From this date each corps was to be considered a unit for the organization of the artillery.

General Slocum, as part of the Grand Reserve, had been reporting to General Sigel; but upon Sigel's general order announcing discontinuance of the Grand Division plan, Slocum was to report directly to army headquarters. In Sigel's order he "sincerely thanked Major-General Slocum for his assistance and constant operation while serving in the Grand Reserve."

The demands for special service continued to scatter Slocum's command. This required alertness at many places to avoid accidental conflicts with Union cavalry and other detachments which were often passing near his lines on their way to special service, and liable to be mistaken for scouting parties of the enemy. This rearrangement of the positions of camps kept the troops active, and gave new zest to alertness on picket duty in new places. February 9th, the picket line of infantry of the XIth and XIIth Corps extended from Embry's to Aquia Creek, making necessary the detailing several times each twenty-four hours of 3,000 or more soldiers for this important duty.

New soldiers had been received from time to time and, up to February 10th, General Slocum's XIIth Corps had been recruited to 664 officers and 12,184 enlisted men present for duty, while his present and absent forces aggregated 21,860. At this time he had 34 pieces of artillery. Two days later a squadron of cavalry was sent to him, by the First Division of the Cavalry Corps, to serve as orderlies, messengers, and an emergency force for reconnaissance.

Road improvement demanded the attention of the different corps from February 15th, in order that the road from the Fitzhugh House, a noted landmark, to the bridge across Potomac Creek half a mile below the railway bridge, thence to Stafford Court House passing about one mile west of Brooke's Station, be

put in such condition as to be practicable for artillery during the muddy seasons. The part of this road between Accakeek Creek and Stafford Court House was assigned to General Slocum's command at this place, part of the distance to be corduroyed double track. Severe storms interrupted the progress of this road improvement.

Before this muddy work was completed, inspecting officers of high rank were detailed by the commanding general to visit each regiment without announcing their coming, and to immediately order the regiment formed in line for general, and special, inspection. There were three hundred and twenty-four infantry commands in the Army of the Potomac at this time, from which number only eleven received honorable mention in the General Orders November 18th that were issued after the inspection was completed. These eleven regiments "earned high commendation from inspection officers" entitling them to additional privileges, leaves of absence, or furloughs. The army was then composed of seven army corps of infantry, and four of the regiments thus honored belonged to Slocum's XIIth Corps notwithstanding the fact that it was at this time about one-third smaller than any of the other corps. General Slocum's relatively numerous honor regiments were the 10th Maine, 2nd Massachusetts, 111th Pennsylvania, and the 3rd Wisconsin. This high proportion of merits was due to Slocum's excellent, and persistent discipline, and drillings.

The enemy continued watchful for a vantage opportunity. With a change of a XIIth Corps picket line toward the last of February, a scout brought information that the enemy's Prince William Cavalry with five pieces of artillery, and the Black Horse Cavalry at Warrenton, contemplated a raid on Dumfries to capture the commissary and other stores there. General Slocum was well prepared to receive them, and their coming would have been welcomed; but their discretion in not coming showed their wisdom. Movements of the enemy's forces of cavalry, infantry and artillery, aggregating five thousand under General Fitzhugh Lee, and other strong forces under General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson, were reported as being near Fredericksburg. At this time General Robert E. Lee reported to "The

President of the Confederate States'' the supposed position of the Union forces, being positive of only General Slocum's command.[29]

It was impossible for General Slocum to keep the necessary number of cavalry in his central command for efficient duty, much less for reconnoitering the enemy, on account of the constant tendency to concentrate this arm in General Stoneman's Cavalry Corps, and the constant call by Slocum's necessarily scattered forces for additional detachments for their support. The Twelfth Illinois Cavalry was on these accounts withdrawn from Slocum's command at Dumfries March 2nd, which left an important part of the country open to the unimpeded approach of the enemy.

On March 4th there was a sharp skirmish between the enemy and the Eighth New York Cavalry then on picket duty at Independent Hill, Prince William County, Virginia, about nine miles from Dumfries, in which two of the latter were killed, one wounded, and fifteen taken prisoners. It appeared that Colonel W. R. Creighton then commanding the Ist Brigade of General Slocum's IInd Division defending the post at Dumfries, and the cavalry assailed on picket, did not have his command well in hand; which condition was rectified immediately upon General Slocum's receipt of the report of the skirmish. This illustrated the necessity for the commanding general to have detail observation of every part of his scattered command, even to minor picket lines. General Slocum placed the command of Dumfries in charge of Colonel Charles Candy who exercised great alertness against the ever vigilant enemy so likely to raid this important region. Frequent and detailed reports were required. Colonel Candy reported direct to General Slocum March 9th that a red signal had been displayed between the Brentsville Road and Quantico Creek, four miles from Dumfries, and that his pickets had fired on a squad of the enemy's cavalry there.

On March 10th there were reported in the XIIth Army Corps 11,933 enlisted men ready for action. The 11th, Colonel Candy reported to Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Rodgers, General Slocum's Assistant Adjutant-General, that the cavalry pickets of the command on his right had been taken away by their com-

mander, thus leaving the entire country between the Quantico and Occoquan open to the enemy; and he asked what he should do for patrols. Later the same day it was reported that twenty cavalrymen were to patrol the road by the telegraph line every six hours.

Active preparation for advancing in full force against the enemy had been carried forward in the Army of the Potomac during the winter by the commanding general, Joseph Hooker, ably seconded by his corps commanders. The discipline had been thorough, even severe at times, with the requirement of greater vigilance on picket and all other duties. At the dawning of the spring it was not strange that the thoughts and desires of many enlisted men should long for freedom from such exacting cares. A desertion was reported, and others were feared. Favored by General Slocum, and other corps commanders, the Secretary of War instructed General Hooker to have the commander of each regiment, battery, independent battalion, and company serving in the Army of the Potomac, prepare immediately duplicate lists of deserters then absent from their respective commands, and to transmit the same without delay to the Provost Marshal-General. Also a stringent order was repeated for more humanitarian care of horses and mules by teamsters.

For greater facility in carrying shelter tents and extra rations during the proposed general advance, pack-saddles had been provided for the different corps, General Slocum receiving two hundred and fifty-seven.

Colonel Charles Candy again called for cavalry March 20th to beat off squads of the enemy which were pressing residents of the country into the Confederate service, and were despoiling and driving Union families from their homes.

Commanding General Hooker was very fortunate in having as his chief of staff Major-General Daniel Butterfield, who was untiring in aiding in devising ways and means of putting and continuing the army in the best possible condition of efficiency within bounds of simplicity; and he was greatly aided in this by the War Department and the corps commanders. The 21st of March, acting on suggestion received from a piece of flannel stitched to the caps of General P. A. Kearney's division of the

Third Corps, they issued a circular providing for the ready recognition of the corps and divisions to which soldiers belonged for the purpose of preventing injustice by mistake in reports of straggling, misconduct, and otherwise. This circular directed the chief quartermaster to supply, at the earliest practicable moment, serviceable metal badges that could be secured to the top, or above the forepiece of the cap or hat of every soldier. The form of the badge distinguished the corps then in the Army of the Potomac, as follows: The Ist Corps, a circular plate; the IInd, an upright trefoil; the IIIrd, a square or lozenge turned diagonally; the Vth, a maltese cross; the VIth, a cross of uniform straight arms; the XIth, a crescent with both points upright; and the XIIth, a five pointed star. In size these badges were at first required to be full one inch in diameter so as to be readily distinguishable. They were in three colors to distinguish

XIIth Corps' Badge

the corps divisions: those for the First Division, red; the Second, white; the Third, blue. The soldiers became greatly attached to these badges, each to his own; and many a veteran fought strenuously for the honor of his corps and its insignia.

As the time drew near for the contemplated advance of the army, the subject of passes to or from the different commands or through their pickets, naturally became of greater importance, and the restrictions more severe. The general commanding on March 24th requested General Slocum to give his infantry pickets orders to permit the officers and messengers of the Union cavalry while on duty to pass through their lines at such points, and with such pass, as agreed upon between Slocum and Pleasonton of the cavalry.

About this time the practical and, perhaps impractical, jokers abounded anew in some tents, and caused some fear in the

tents at first by reporting the enemy near, usually late at night. It is possible that some new army recruits required some special discipline, or experience, for their peculiarities, similar to that which boys not infrequently combine to give one or more of their peculiar playmates. In the experience of the army at this time several night alarms were of sufficient extent and force as to call considerable commands hurriedly to arms. In some of these instances, possibly the officers were privy to the effort and effect.

The Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac reported the ratio of sickness to the thousand in General Slocum's corps March 28th as 52.78, while most other corps were reported over sixty, sixty-eight, seventy-five, and one even over ninety.

The abstract report of the strength of the XIIth Corps March 31st showed that the officers present for duty numbered 711; of enlisted men, 12,452, with an aggregate present and absent of 20,126. Artillery, 34 pieces.

More wakeful nights were caused General Slocum and some of his general officers by reports from General Sickles at 2.30 A. M., and General Averell at midnight, of April 1st, stating that the Confederates had appeared at their front; but no general call to arms by Slocum was found necessary.

On April 13th General Slocum received official notice that a large part of General Stoneman's Union Cavalry Corps was moving toward the Shenandoah Valley to be absent several days. This movement increased the responsibility of Slocum and his corps. At this date Brigadier-General T. H. Ruger was ordered to report to General Slocum for assignment to the command of a brigade in his XIIth Corps. He was given command of the IIIrd Brigade of the 1st Division, and he proved himself an efficient officer.

On the 14th Slocum was notified to have his brigade at Dumfries ready to join him at Stafford Court House, as it was about to be relieved of duty at that place for this purpose. The relieving force was part of General Averell's cavalry under Colonel Duffie. When they did arrive, of the 1,027 men, but 95 had carbines, which caused greater delay in the departure of Slocum's brigade; and Slocum finally left a battery of cannon, dismounted cavalry, and a regiment of infantry, for duty until

Averell's men could be supplied with arms. Slocum's men thus left were directed to return to their places in the XIIth Corps April 25th.

The assignment of corps commanders in the Army of the Potomac by the War Department at the instance of President Lincoln, after the rearrangement by the commanding general February 10th, was not made until April 15th. This act was merely formal, no change being made.

The routine of recruiting and preparation for another campaign while doing active guard duty, was brightened April 19, 1863, at General Slocum's headquarters by the receipt of flowers from Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. This bouquet brought to the mind of Slocum, in a reminiscent way, the receipt of a simple flower "from a young country girl" while he was attending the Albany State Normal School in his youth; and it incited to some well expressed paragraphs in his letter this day to his wife, who was the girl mentioned, namely:

Headquarters, Twelfth Corps d'Armee,
April 19, 1863.

My Dear Clara:—

. . . . . .

I received a beautiful bouquet this morning from Mary. The flowers are all from the President's garden. It is beautiful. The flowers are arranged according to color in three rows—red, white, and blue—with a fine japonica at the apex. I send you two or three samples.

I thought Mary would remember me. I take back all I have said unless she has sent to all the other generals.

I do not think I was so happy over this bouquet of rare flowers from the wife of the President as I was over a single blue forget-me-not received by me while in Albany from a young country girl.

. . . . . .

Yours affectionately,
H. W. Slocum.

XIth Corps' Badge

CHAPTER XV

Commands Three Corps to Chancellorsville

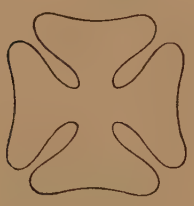
The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, under command of General Robert E. Lee, remained intrenched at Fredericksburg on the south bank of the Rappahannock River, and most of the Union Army of the Potomac had remained in winter quarters at Falmouth on the north bank of the river a little above Fredericksburg.

The general commanding the Union forces, Hooker, while recruiting and bringing his army to a good condition for encountering the enemy, had formulated a good plan for capturing him, or breaking him in pieces. The Union Cavalry Corps had been recruited and reorganized to an effective corps of 11,500 men. General Stoneman, commander of this corps, was directed to move two weeks before the other arms, to cross the upper Rappahannock, turn eastward and southward between Fredericksburg and Richmond, destroy the railways, canals, and telegraphic communications, thus cutting off supplies for Lee's army. Severe rains at this time and river floods made it unpleasant to do this work by the cavalry at the time desired; and Hooker, becoming impatient, would not delay the army's movement to get the material aid the cavalry should afford him.

General Slocum, with his XIIth Corps, started early in the morning of April 27th from his encampment at Stafford Court House on what became later known as the Chancellorsville Campaign. His route of march was out of sight of the enemy at Fredericksburg, and as direct as practicable to Kelly's Ford of the Rappahannock, about twenty-seven miles above the main force of the enemy.

Upon arrival near the Ford he was directed by Hooker to assume command of General Howard's XIth Corps, the Ist Cavalry Brigade of Brigadier-General Pleasonton, and to a degree the command of the Vth Army Corps of Major-General George G. Meade, all in addition to his XIIth Corps, which for a time was nominally under General A. S. Williams of its Ist Division. This large command, excepting the Vth Corps, crossed on pontoons at Kelly's Ford, then turning south marched about ten

miles to Germania Mills by the Rapid Ann (Rapidan) River. Here Slocum's advance brigade, Ruger's, surprised a detachment of about one hundred and twenty-five Confederates who had started to build a bridge across the swollen, rapid stream. A skirmish ensued, Slocum directing in person. The enemy soon surrendered after suffering some losses, and those on the opposite bank waded through the armpit deep chilly water to make the surrender complete. Ruger's and Knipe's brigades, with Battery M, First New York Light Artillery (Fox), then led the Ist Division of the XIIth Corps in fording the river which was high, about four feet in depth with rough rock bottom. Some soldiers were swept from their feet, necessitating rescue by cavalrymen or small boat. The engineers and soldiers of the Ist Division of the XIIth Corps, now being across, they soon built a bridge of the timbers prepared by the enemy for their



Vth Corps' Badge

XIth Corps' Badge

XIIth Corps' Badge

own purpose, on which bridge the other parts of the large command crossed, also most of the artillery and pack mules.

While General Slocum was admiring his men who were struggling so successfully with the Rapidan current, an officer rode up with the compliments of General Meade, and stated that Ely's Ford of the Rappahannock where Meade had been ordered to cross was at flood, 'hip deep.' General Slocum pointed to his men breast deep in the rapid current, and replied that the Vth Corps must cross at once.

The XIth Corps, now the rear of Slocum's command, was followed by Stuart's Confederate Cavalry with two light cannon which annoyed, and did some harm to the troops. The only way to stop this annoyance was to drive Stuart's men away with cavalry. But the small force of Pleasonton's cavalry with Slocum was not strong enough for this work, being outnumbered by

the Confederate General Stuart's two to one, and the annoyance had to be endured for a time.[30]

From Germania Ford General Slocum's course led to the south of east about twelve miles to Chancellorsville, the first objective point, General Geary of the IInd Division of the XIIth Corps leading. Parts of the enemy's cavalry and infantry were met, and many of them were captured with very little delay to the march. General Slocum, with his present command of about 42,000 men, arrived at Chancellorsville, the designated meeting place of the commanding general, April 30, about 2 o'clock P. M., and he at once took positions for defense according to orders; but having at the time a strong impelling thought that he ought to advance immediately to the higher vantage ground nearer the enemy.

General Meade arrived at Chancellorsville about the time of Slocum's arrival, his road leading to the left of that taken by the latter. Meade was jubilant, saying: "This is splendid Slocum; hurrah for old Joe [General Joe Hooker]; we are on Lee's flank, and he does not know it. You take the Plank Road, and I'll take the Pike, or *vice versa,* as you prefer, and we will get out of this Wilderness." His anticipations were at once dampened by Slocum's reply: "My orders are to assume command on arriving at this point, and to take up a line of battle here, and not to move forward without further orders."[31]

General Hooker did not arrive at Chancellorsville until 6 P. M., when Slocum turned the general command over to him. Then was issued Hooker's remarkable General Order Number 47, reading as follows: "It is with heartfelt satisfaction the commanding general announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defenses and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him. The operations of the Fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Corps have been a succession of splendid achievements."[32]

This order was read to each regiment and, generally, it was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. Some of Slocum's veterans, however, did not cheer, and received the 'brag' of Hooker in thoughtful mood. Being rallied regarding this soberness one re-

plied that Lee had never been known to 'ingloriously fly,' and it would be better to wait until after the battle before doing any cheering.[25]

General Hooker did not make good use of the advantages so well gained for him by General Slocum and others. He was slow in arriving upon the field where the Union generals were obligated to await his coming. He then delayed action many most valuable hours, while his great opportunity waned. Slocum was impatient, Banks' Ford and other important points of vantage were then easily at his command for occupancy. "It is a maxim of war that a single hour's delay when an enemy is strengthening his position, or when reinforcements are coming up, will frequently cost the lives of a thousand men. In the present instance it was simply suicidal for Hooker to delay action."[33]

General Darius N. Couch, second to Hooker in general command, afterward wrote that "If the possession of Banks' Ford [on the north bank of which was the depository of the Union Reserve Artillery] had been foreshadowed in Hooker's instructions to General Slocum, there would have been accomplished all that could have been desired." And, again, "I think it was a signal misfortune to our arms that he [Hooker] did not delay joining that [right] wing until the morning of May 1st, when he would have found Banks' Ford in our possession."[22]

A detachment of Pleasonton's Union cavalry was doing picket duty near the Confederate pickets in front of Chancellorsville and, finally, next day, May 1st, at 11 A. M., General Slocum was permitted to move forward with his XIIth Corps followed by the XIth Corps under General Howard, they forming the right wing, and moving along the Plank Road, the main thoroughfare. Other corps also moved forward on other roads to the left.

The enemy's skirmish line was met about one mile from Chancellorsville. This line and the enemy's lines beyond were rapidly driven back by Slocum whose artillery participated with good effect. Good progress was being made and the troops were exulting in their success, when orders came from Hooker, about one P. M., for every command to return to its original line at Chancellorsville and to its left. Slocum was very much vexed

with this order, as he wanted to get out of the wilderness, and by this order he was commanded to leave vantage ground for the enemy to immediately occupy with guns which would cost the Union troops many lives if they did not defeat them entirely. Generals Couch, Warren, Sykes, and Hancock, agreed that the advance gained should not be abandoned; Warren, the chief engineer, even advising Couch the second in general command to disobey Hooker's command to return.[22]

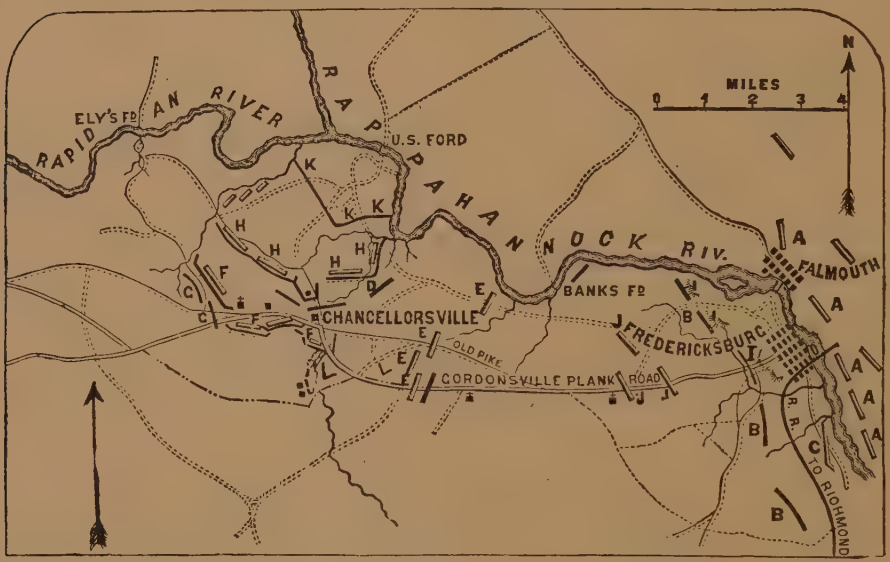
Reluctantly, the command of Hooker was obeyed by all, and the enemy was quick to follow to the vantage ground vacated by the retiring Union forces. Hooker was vacillating and, when too late, he desired Couch to hold the position won in advance, which so exasperated the old veteran that he returned a sharp reply 'unbecoming a subordinate.'

General Slocum, when retiring from this advance, ordered Captain Clermont L. Best, of the Fourth United States Artillery, his Chief of Artillery, to proceed to Chancellorsville and post his corps artillery in good positions for defense against the probably following enemy. Upon the arrival of the corps at its former lines, Slocum ordered the position to be hastily fortified. This work was well done by the XIIth Corps, but not by the XIth Corps. The enemy followed in strong force, was attacked, and he was defeated with great loss, the artillery doing good service on both the Fredericksburg and Gordonsville roads.[34] The Union army was, however, now on the defensive, notwithstanding the fact that its forces far outnumbered those of the enemy.

Slocum visited Hooker's headquarters in the lull of affairs, expressed regrets for his recall, and asked for reconsideration of the positions now occupied—even urging the immediate assailing of the enemy, rapidly with all the available Union forces. Hooker was irascible and, while wavering in mind, was inclined to let conditions remain as they were. Slocum was not confident of the corps on his right but he did not attempt to urge anything further. He returned to his headquarters deeply impressed by the thought that Hooker was not in fit condition to lead or direct the army in the battle then impending. "Indeed had Hooker listened to Pleasonton; had he listened to Slocum; had he listened to the

first inspirations of his own genius, he had nine out of ten chances in favor of winning one of the greatest and most decisive battles of the war."[35]

The wounded of the day were taken to the nearest house where the surgeons gave them the best attention possible. Some ambulances were brought on the field later, and the wounded were taken by them to the field hospitals. The urgent requests



THE BATTLEFIELD OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.

A—Positions held by the Union forces before the movement. B—Positions held by the enemy. C—Positions taken and held by Union forces April 29th. D—Small force of the enemy routed April 30th. E—Farthest advance made by Union forces May 1st. F—Line to which Union forces retired and intrenched May 1st. G—Jackson's attack on the 11th Corps May 2nd. H—Position to which Union forces retired and intrenched May 3rd. I—Heights of Fredericksburg carried by 6th Corps May 3rd. J—Advanced position attained by 6th Corps. K—Interior line intrenched by General Slocum before retiring of Union forces across the river night of May 5th. L—Route taken by Jackson's forces to surprise the 11th Corps.

for medicine wagons were not answered, and medical supplies, brought on the backs of horses and mules, were not sufficient.[36]

The next morning Hooker and Sickles rode around and inspected the positions and lines of the right wing then composed of the IIIrd, XIth and XIIth Corps.

Discovery in the morning of Saturday, May 2nd, of an ominous movement of the enemy beyond Howard's corps led to the

opening of one of Slocum's batteries on the moving foe. This fire was returned with much spirit for a time, but soon two caissons of the enemy were exploded, one gun dismounted, and the enemy's entire battery silenced. Slocum continued to strengthen his breastworks during the day. Soon after the first skirmish of batteries, another apparently heavy column of the enemy was discovered slowly and cautiously defiling around a point of the Plank Road nearer Slocum's guns than the other. This column was made the target of Slocum's infantry, and artillery with canister, which brought confusion upon it, and caused its rapid retreat leaving many dead and wounded in the road and woods adjoining.[37]

The activity of General Sickles had been increased in the meantime. He requested help from General Slocum, who sent nearly all of his Ist Division with its commander, General A. S. Williams, to Sickles's support. About the same time Slocum advanced part of his IInd Division to investigate the enemy in his own front. This was opportune as the enemy had, quietly under cover, advanced in force, and Slocum called his men back to their intrenchments.

About this time there were evidences of an attack and great confusion on the army's extreme right. The Confederate General Thomas J (Stonewall) Jackson's command had attacked Howard's neglected (generally unfortified even by breastworks) XIth Corps, turned its right and overlapped its rear causing a disastrous rout.[38] Fortunately General Pleasonton was near and, by rare good and cool judgment and quick action, succeeded in gathering twenty-two cannon and, loading them with double canister, he repeatedly fired them into the enemy at close range, thus giving check to this part of Jackson's rapidly advancing men. Jackson was wounded accidentally by one of his own men about this time. He died a few days later from blood poisoning.

Early in the attack on Howard's corps, Slocum recalled his Ist Division. The return was started immediately, and by moving rapidly by flank and turning, it presented a front and opposition that checked the advance of the enemy in this quarter;[39] but before all could return to their original position, the enemy began to occupy the right of their intrenchments; and in at-

tempting to regain their full line in the dark some became mixed with the enemy who overpowered and captured one hundred and fifty or more of Slocum's men. The division held its own remarkably well, however, in the midst of so much excitement and wild rumors of the rout on its right. Its line was soon reformed by General Slocum at right angle to its former line.

Slocum now opened his thirty-four pieces of artillery by which, with the infantry, some guns of Sickles' command, and a few from Howard's unrouted contingent, the enemy was fully checked. The work of the artillery was continued irregularly until late in the night, at times the fire being terrific. During the entire night both Union and Confederate forces did what they could to strengthen their positions and lines, particularly near Chancellorsville.

At midnight, Sickles, who was separated from the other Union forces, 'fought his way back' to supporting distance of them.

Even Saturday night, and Sunday morning, May 3rd, "It only required that Hooker should brace himself up and take a reasonable common sense view of the state of things, when the success gained by Jackson would have been turned into an overwhelming defeat [of the enemy]. But Hooker became despondent," vacillating, and this part of the enemy was permitted to begin the battle on the weakened right wing without reinforcements of men or ammunition.[22]

The best position for the Union forces at any time was with their right at Talley's farm. This was literally given to the enemy by Hooker. The position of Sunday morning, with Hazel Grove and the position formerly held by the 'sharp and astute Slocum' were highly defensible, if Slocum had been reasonably supported against the overwhelming enemy.[35]

The order for the abandonment of General Pleasonton's preparations for holding Hazel Grove where he discomfited and checked the enemy immediately after Jackson's attack was an order for the abandonment of "the proper key to the situation which should have been held at all hazards."[33] It was the worst of all movements, inasmuch as it was indispensable for the enemy to capture Hazel Grove before he could advance against the main

body of Sickles' IIIrd Corps; and this corps and Pleasonton's forces being removed during the night and early morning of Sunday May 3rd, enabled the enemy to immediately post his cannon at the Grove, drive Sickles' men further back, and enfilade Slocum's entire IInd Division, a result showing continued most serious want of a sober, comprehensive, and steadfast commanding general.

But for the prompt, and proper, meeting of this emergency by General Slocum, all of Hooker's right wing, possibly the entire army, would have been routed by the enemy. With thirty pieces of the enemy's artillery from one quarter, also the Confederate General McLaws' batteries from another direction in full play upon Slocum's line, "It seems almost miraculous that he was able to hold it at all."[33] Here again was exhibited General Slocum's coolness, thoughtfulness, prompt action, and success in the proper disposition of his men.

CHAPTER XVI

Battle of Chancellorsville. Reports

The Army of the Potomac 'was disjointed' wrote the venerable General Couch, for want of a proper general leader. The morning of the ill-fated Sunday, May 3rd, 1863, the attack of the enemy began at daybreak from their vantage ground gained as mentioned on the preceding pages. Slocum's Ist and Sickles' IInd Divisions were the only Union forces to withstand the first unequal contest.

The enemy soon gained another material advantage by turning the right flank of Sickles' men, and yet another advantage by the retiring of Sickles' men from the field. The enemy was quick to place cannon on the gained positions, from which, he could further enfilade and otherwise distress Slocum's forces. Slocum's ammunition was running law, and none came in answer to calls for more.

Solid columns of the enemy were also repeatedly advanced against Slocum's front and now unsupported right flank. They were repeatedly repulsed with great loss on both sides. Several

times the enemy was followed into the thick underbrush by Slocum's men, he retreating in superior numbers but to reload, reform line and renew the attack at close quarters on Slocum's rapidly attenuating line.

Colonel Fox in his *History of the XIIth Corps*[25] quotes the following from *Caldwell's History of McGowan's South Carolina Brigade* that was in front of part of Slocum's men this Sunday morning, namely:

> We could not see much for the morning was foggy and the smoke of both lines became so dense that I could not even distinguish the colors of the enemy. The firing was furious. Our advance was checked, the cheering hushed; all on both sides addressed themselves to loading and firing as rapidly as possible. The two right regiments were hotly engaged. Indeed the Thirteenth and Fourteenth South Carolina had to fire at right oblique. The slaughter of Orr's Rifles, and the First South Carolina was immense. General McGowan, just behind the colors of the First, huzzahed lustily, seeming to be at the highest enthusiasm. The Federals fired with unusual accuracy. It was to be expected, for we stood in full relief upon the crest of the hill. The few men they had scattered along the ravine behaved with provoking composure. They deliberately loaded their pieces behind the trees, stepped out, picked their men, fired, and returned to the trees to reload. [The Twenty-seventh Indiana was among this number]. In the course of time, however, they were discovered, and forced to lie close. Archer's brigade, as I understand it, was to move clear to our right, and at some inclination to us, so as to strike the enemy in flank. The latter must have apprehended something of the sort, for they hugged the fortified hill with singular pertinacity.
>
> But now we were at a standstill. The enemy became emboldened, and advanced upon the unprotected right flank of our brigade. At last he swung forward so as to almost enfilade our line. The Rifles gave way. The First followed slowly, and the movement extended gradually to the left of the brigade. But we halted at the line of works about seventy or eighty yards from the last position; and the enemy continuing to advance, we resumed battle. General McGowan was wounded upon the works. Brigadier-General Colston brought in a fresh line, saying they would show us how to clear a Federal line. But their reckoning was not accurate; they were forced back with us into the works. The firing continued unintermitted, deadly.

Slocum's 34 pieces of artillery won the admiration of all observing Unionists; but his IInd Division of infantry was now so 'hemmed in' and in danger of being cut off by the enemy that was near and not much disturbed by his artillery, that Slocum

ordered it to retire and form line at right angles with the former line of battle, the right to rest at the brick house headquarters of Hooker. While its commander, General John W. Geary, a capable officer, was executing this order Hooker came to him and personally commanded Geary to return to his vacated position 'and hold it at all hazards.'[40] Here was another cause for the serious grievance of General Slocum against the commanding general of the army who had not been issuing any orders recently.[22] Apparently Hooker had left Slocum and his men now for the third time, to any fate that might prevail against them after placing them at great disadvantage before the able, alert enemy, and withholding all reinforcements from the thousands of idle Union forces within easy call!

But General Slocum, realizing the full significance of his position and forsaken condition, rallied his shattered columns anew. Some were without ammunition but they kept their places with bayonets fixed.

Geary's men refilled their cartridge boxes while near the Chancellor House, and in the hurry and confusion that followed with the return according to Hooker's orders, Geary's orders were misunderstood by Greene and Kane's brigades which took position north of the Chancellor House and did not accompany Geary back to their former position. Geary with his 1st Brigade, upon their return to their breastworks, found that he had left behind there the 60th and 102nd New York Regiments, which were yet in sore conflict; and they had captured thirty prisoners and a battle flag, and the last named regiment had also captured the flag of the Twelfth Georgia Regiment. The enemy continued to make breaches in the breastworks and, in the fierce battle, more of the enemy were captured.

The enemy's fire was now of even greater volume than before, he being emboldened by what appeared to him as sure victory, in the capture or total destruction of Slocum's command. Such condition of affairs could not have happened had Slocum not been deprived by the commanding general of his rightful supports.[41] The hand to hand battle continued between the intervals of the enemy's artillery enfilading fire. Such unequal contest could not be much longer continued.

The order of General Slocum for his command to retire

from the field 'was obeyed in a soldierly and masterly manner,'[40] notwithstanding the use of the enemy's rifles against Slocum's cannoneers until sixty-two of their number were killed or wounded; and not until eighty horses had been shot in harness, was the artillery retired, and then without leaving a gun. The enemy at once occupied much of the ground vacated.

Major-General Slocum reformed his XIIth Corps upon the extreme Union left, which position he rapidly fortified to protect the retreat of the Union army notwithstanding the sadly depleted ranks of his men and their greatly exhausted condition. This corps had been constantly on exhausting duty three days, most of the time on scant rations, and for the last twenty-four hours or more without any food.

While Hooker was standing beside a column on the porch of his headquarters on Sunday, it was struck and broken by a cannon ball and Hooker was thrown to the floor. He arose, mounted his horse, held nearby, and joined his staff in reviewing the situation vacated by Slocum's men. There was some additional work done by artillery in the afternoon, but little further, of importance, was effected.

During Slocum's most active work, among the bravest and hardest fighting in this or any war, several corps of Union troops were idle, and could have been readily sent as reinforcements where the Union lines were so strongly opposed by the numerous enemy. But the commanding general practically ignored Slocum and his command, as well as President Lincoln's parting injunction when visiting army headquarters before the army started on this campaign, which was to 'Put in all your men.'

Hooker called his corps commanders to a council of war at midnight of May 4-5. Generals Couch, Howard, Meade, and Reynolds, were present. Howard, Meade, and Reynolds, favored continuing the battle. Couch favored this decision if he could designate the point of attack, but under the conditions he voted with Sickles to retreat to the previously long-occupied camp at Falmouth. Hooker at once settled the question by declaring for such retreat. General Slocum was notified of the council, but at an hour too late for him to arrive from his distant position until the very brief session was over; but he did arrive just in time to hear General Reynolds say while passing out of the tent

'what was the use of calling us together at this time of night when Hooker intended to retreat anyhow.'[22]

Some time before this council of war, Hooker told General Couch, commander of the IInd Corps and second in general command, to take charge of the army; but he continued to ignore Couch and, after giving directions himself for retreat, he crossed the river.

General Slocum's artillery was placed early to protect the army while crossing the Rappahannock at the United States Ford about one mile below the mouth of the Rapidan River. The enemy soon appeared and began to construct batteries to oppose the crossing, but Slocum's artillery kept them in check by slow firing on account of scarcity of ammunition. Finally the enemy succeeded in placing two batteries, one with four 24-pounder cannon, both of which batteries were soon silenced by Slocum's guns. With his command Slocum crossed the river Tuesday night May 5th, and by comfortable marches returned to his former encampment at Stafford Court House.

The Signal Service was well organized for the army's operations in this campaign on the south side of the Rappahannock. The services of T. S. C. Lowe, the chief operator of balloons at that time, was also engaged to operate two balloons to be held captive by anchored ropes. Lowe was first stationed on the north bank near Banks' Ford, and the other balloon, in charge of E. S. Allen, was to be near General Sedgwick's command to operate on the southeast side of Fredericksburg. Here, as elsewhere, it appears that a large proportion of what was of proper initiative, continuity, and effectiveness pertaining to the general direction of the army and its affairs at this time, should be attributed to Hooker's Chief of Staff Major-General Daniel Butterfield. Unfortunately Butterfield was much hampered by Hooker's nervous demands, of a generally worrying and impracticable nature, and with manifold duties with dispatches to and from a distance, detracting from attention to duties nearby. Butterfield was also frequently sent on errands at a distance, he being near Falmouth at 8 P. M. May 2nd, and at 5.40 P. M. May 3rd. He was also sent to Banks' Ford, and other places.

Lowe reported to Butterfield at 9 A. M. April 28th that the balloon could not then ascend on account of the high wind; and

the service was often so delayed, also by rain, mist, fog, and smoke which obscured even close observations. Campfires at night, however, were available often to mark position and number of the enemy.

Active service of the balloons began April 29th, and some little movement of the enemy into their rifle pits opposite Sedgwick's command below Fredericksburg, showed that the enemy was diverted from Chancellorsville. Heavy smoke was also reported in the woods about six miles up the river from Lowe's station near Banks' Ford. Later in the day the enemy was reported in line of battle in the woods opposite Fredericksburg. The same day Allen reported that Lieutenant Libby took his balloon 'in tow' along the river bank to opposite the south end of the city, where he saw heavy earthworks well supported by a large force. Only a few army wagons were seen. May 1st it was reported from the balloons, that the greatest activity of the enemy was towards Chancellorsville, diminishing the number at Fredericksburg, which should have aroused Hooker to the mistake of his own inactivity. General Sedgwick received the same dispatch, and then was an opportunity for him in the rear of the foe. The balloon at Banks' Ford was in the air continuously this day, Lowe answering questions and reporting his observations in all directions. There were also frequent communications between different commands by signal service. Lowe changed to the balloon near Sedgwick, and Allen to the Balloon 'Eagle' near Banks' Ford. The former suggested that it was a good time for a staff officer to ascend for personal observation. The two balloonists checked each the other in observation of important points. May 2nd there was too much wind for balloon observation until afternoon, and then only from low heights. There were frequent reports, however, the Signal Service acting an important part. The principal reports of the afternoon showed withdrawal of the enemy from the Union left and its concentration with men and artillery in Slocum's front; but Slocum was obliged to learn of this fact by his own initiative.

It appears that there were no balloon observations May 3rd, and but two of little importance the 4th; and then like other arms of the service, the balloonists probably had to look out for themselves.

The cause of Hooker's nervous vagaries, enervation, and general inefficiency at Chancellorsville, is not obscure, nor difficult of being understood. The shattered condition of his system was the result of the 'large quantities' of alcoholic beverages he had continued to take 'for a long time.' From the evidence at the trial that followed, it was shown that he was not drunk at Chancellorsville, at least not early in the battle. General Couch, his intimate friend for a long time, states that Hooker's trouble at this time was due to his discontinuance there of the alcoholic beverage, or beverages;[22] and it is a truism that such habit soon unfits any person for any position of trust, be the craving of the habit satisfied or unsatisfied. The monstrous evil of the alcoholic addiction has been sadly prevalent, in all modern wars at least, and with very sad results.

"Hooker's thorough inability to grasp the situation, and handle the conditions arising from the responsibility of so large a command, dates from Thursday noon, or at latest Friday morning, May 1st. And from this time his enervation was steadily on the increase. For the defeat of the Army of the Potomac in Sunday morning's conflict was already a settled fact, when Hooker failed at early dawn so to dispose his forces as to sustain Sickles and Williams [Slocum's First Division] if overmatched, or to broach some counter maneuver to draw the eenmy's attention to its own safety.

"It is an ungracious task to heap so much blame upon any one man. But the odium of this defeat has for years been borne by those who are guiltless of the outcome of the campaign of Chancellorsville; and the prime source of this fallacy has been Hooker's ever-ready self exculpation by misinterpreted facts and unwarranted conclusions, while his subordinates have held their peace."[44]

General Alpheus S. Williams, commander of the 1st Division of General Slocum's XIIth Corps, closed his long official report of his division at the Battle of Chancellorsville, as follows: "In conclusion, I beg to congratulate the major-general [Slocum] commanding the corps upon the faithful, orderly, and gallant conduct of the XIIth Corps during the twelve days' campaign. On the marches and on the battle-field the conduct of the officers and men almost universally was that of veterans; obedient to

orders, faithful to duty, and firm and unyielding under the most vigorous and overwhelming assaults of the enemy. On the march we had no stragglers and on the battle-field few skulkers. The insignia of our 'star' [badge of the XIIth Corps] is a badge of honor of which we may all be proud. To the patient, able, and judicious efforts of the commander of the corps, I desire, in this official report, to attribute mainly the efficient and superior condition and conduct of this command."[42]

The official report of General Slocum regarding Chancellorsville, like all his papers, is direct and clear. In it he exhibits commendable pride in the good discipline of his men and in their admirable efficiency at all times, even under the great excitement of stampeding troops from other commands, and when forced, unnecessarily by conditions he could not control, into impracticable positions where, almost famished and exceedingly fatigued, they fought desperately, refusing to surrender or to leave a gun, and after sustaining loss of about thirty per cent. of their number, holding firmly to their commanding general's orders until there was a lull in the fierce assaults of the enemy, enabling them to retire honorably, and safely, from the field. No better troops ever complimented their general by greater bravery in upholding the admirable discipline received from him.

Official Report of Major-General Henry W. Slocum, U. S. Army, commanding Twelfth Army Corps in Chancellorsville Campaign:

Headquarters Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac,
[Stafford Court House, Va.] May 17, 1863.

GENERAL: I have the honor of submitting the report of the operations of the troops under my command, from April 27 to the 6th instant:

In obedience to instructions from headquarters Army of the Potomac, the Twelfth Corps marched, on April 27, from its present position [Stafford Court House, Va.] to a point near Hartwood Church. On the 28th, the march was continued, and the entire corps encamped at 4 P. M. near Kelly's Ford. At this point I was instructed to assume command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, and to move both corps to Germanna Bridge on the following day, and, if possible, effect a crossing at once.

The Twelfth Corps commenced the march at 4 A. M. on the 29th, and was followed by the Eleventh Corps. Soon after leaving Kelly's Ford, the advance guard met a small force of the enemy's cavalry, and captured 1 captain and several privates within 4 miles of the ford.

During the entire march from the Rappahannock to the Rapidan, the advance guard, consisting of the Sixth New York Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel McVicar commanding, was opposed by small bodies of cavalry, but the progress of the main body was but little delayed, and several captures were made on the march. On arriving at Germanna Ford, our crossing was opposed by a body of infantry, consisting of 125 men, who were posted in a mill and behind timber, which had been collected on the opposite side of the river for the purpose of rebuilding the bridge at this place. The Second Massachusetts and the Third Wisconsin Volunteers were at once marched in line of battle to the bank of the river, and, after an exchange of a few shots, the enemy surrendered. The passage of the river was at once effected by the cavalry, followed by Generals Ruger's and Jackson's brigades, of William's division, and all the artillery of the corps.

While the troops were fording the river, the pioneers of the First Division were engaged in the construction of a bridge. This work, under the supervision of Generals Geary and Kane, was soon completed, and the remainder of the Twelfth Corps, with its pack trains and the entire Eleventh Corps, crossed the river on this bridge. A strong position was taken on the opposite side of the river.

At daylight on the following morning, the march was resumed, Geary's division leading. Just before the head of the column reached the Wilderness, an attack was made on our right flank by a small body of cavalry and two pieces of artillery. Two regiments were sent to drive away this force, while the main body continued its march.

The two corps arrived at Chancellorsville, Va., at about 2 P. M. on the 30th. The Twelfth Corps took position in the woods, on a line nearly parallel to the Plank road, with the left resting near Chancellorsville and the right near a church about 1 1-2 miles therefrom. The Eleventh Corps joined the right of the Twelfth, with its right resting on Hunting Run. The Fifth Corps, which had crossed at Ely's Ford and arrived at Chancellorsville before either of the others, extended from Chancellorsville toward the United States Ford. The Major-General commanding the army [Major-General Hooker] arrived at Chancellorsville on Thursday evening, the 30th, and I then resumed the command of the Twelfth Corps.

On Friday, at 11 A. M., pursuant to orders, I moved the Twelfth Corps from Chancellorsville toward Fredericksburg, on the Plank road. We met the skirmishers of the enemy about a mile from the Chancellor house; formed in line of battle and advanced, the enemy falling back toward the heights of Fredericksburg.

About 1 P. M. orders were received to return to our original line. In this movement our loss was only 10 killed and wounded. Friday night and Saturday morning were spent in strengthening our position.

At 3.30 P. M. on Saturday, I received a note from General Sickles, stating that he was advancing a strong line of two brigades to ascertain whether the enemy was retreating; that General Birney reported that he had reached a brigade of the enemy in rifle-pits, posted, as he (General

Sickles) thought, to cover the retreating column; that he would attack him if he was not stronger than reports so far represented, and occupy the road by which he was retreating, and that he desired me to support his advance. This note was at once referred to the commanding general, and, with his consent, I sent nearly all the First Division, under General Williams, to the support of General Birney, and at the same time advanced a portion of the Second Division, under General Geary, to feel the enemy in its front. It soon became evident that the enemy was in force in this position and strongly posted. The Second Division was, therefore, recalled, and directed to hold its original line.

While this Division was retiring as ordered, the enemy attacked the extreme right of our line, which was held by the Eleventh Corps. I at once rode in that direction; but before arriving within a mile of the line met large numbers of that corps retiring in the utmost disorder. I at once dispatched two staff officers with orders to General Williams to return as rapidly as possible to his original line, hoping to make such disposition of his troops as would assist in checking the advance of the enemy. This order was promptly obeyed; but the enemy had possessed himself of the right of the line formerly occupied by General Williams before his arrival, and, in attempting to regain his position, Colonel Mathews, of the One hundred and twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and nearly 200 of his regiment, were captured. Williams' division at once took possession of the line formerly held by him, and formed Ruger's and Knipe's brigades in line on the left of and at right angles to the Plank road leading toward the Wilderness, his right connecting with the division of General Berry, formed on the right of the Plank road.

In the meantime Captain Best, chief of artillery of the Twelfth Corps, had by great exertions got thirty-four guns in position on the crest of the hill in rear of these divisions. The divisions of Generals Williams and Berry, with a well-directed fire from our artillery, checked the advance of the enemy. A portion of the troops under General Birney, on returning, took position on the crest of a hill nearly in prolongation of the line held by Geary's division. At about 12 o'clock Saturday night, a porton of these troops advanced against the enemy directly in front of Williams' division. As I had not been informed that a night attack was contemplated by our forces, I supposed, on hearing the firing, that the enemy were advancing on William's division, and at once opened upon them with our artillery. General Williams also fired upon all lines that made their appearance in his front. I have no information as to the damage suffered by our troops from our own fire, but fear that our losses must have been severe.

At daybreak on Sunday, May 3, the enemy commenced the attack on Williams' and Berry's divisions. The troops of Birney's division, above mentioned as occupying the hill in prolongation of Geary's line, soon retired. A battery belonging to the same division, which was with these troops, was, I am informed, captured by the enemy. I know that imme-

diately after the infantry had retired from this position a battery was used on this point against Geary's line with fearful effect, as it enfiladed his position completely. The efforts of the enemy for three hours were directed mainly against the divisions of General A. S. Williams and Berry.

Repeated efforts were made by heavy columns of the enemy to break these lines, but without effect; our troops held their ground with a determined bravery seldom equalled. Our artillery was advantageously posted and handled with great skill and effect.

At 8 A. M. I informed the commanding general of the fact that our small-arm ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that a new supply was necessary or that my troops must be relieved. As there was no ammunition on hand, a brigade of Birney's division was ordered to relieve a portion of Williams', which was done, but too late to prevent the advance of the enemy. Our artillery, also, which had been firing constantly for about three hours, was nearly exhausted of ammunition.

At about 9 A. M. the troops on the right of my command fell back, which was soon followed by a portion of my line. The enemy at once gained a position which enabled him to use his infantry against our batteries. The artillery, however, held its position until two battery commanders, Captain Hampton and Lieutenant Crosby, were killed beside their pieces, until 63 cannoneers were killed or wounded, and until 80 horses had been shot in the harness. The batteries were then retired to a position in rear of our second line without the loss of a single piece. The infantry also retired in much better order than could reasonably have been anticipated, and formed in rear of the new line. At 9 P. M. on Sunday, I was ordered to take a position on the extreme left of the line, which was done at once, and every hour was occupied in strengthening our position until we were ordered to recross the river.

We recrossed on Tuesday night, and on Wednesday evening the entire command was in its former camps.

The events of the past few days have greatly increased my confidence in my command. Most of my corps marched more than 60 miles in three and a half days, over bad roads and through a severe rain-storm, the men carrying on their persons eight days' rations (more than double the amount ever before carried by any troops in this army), besides 60 rounds of ammunition and the usual amount of clothing. On this march the command crossed two rivers, a portion of it fording one of them. I have never witnessed a scene that tended more to increase my confidence in our troops, or that so strongly excited my admiration, than that presented by two brigades of Williams' division in fording the Rapidan River. This ford is a very difficult one at all times, the current being very rapid, the bed of the river uneven and very rocky, and the water in many places being at least 4 feet in depth. Not only the officers, but every soldier, seemed to appreciate the necessity of speedily gaining a position on the opposite bank, and they seemed to vie with each other in their eagerness to execute their orders. The fact that from nearly every regiment one or more men were

swept down the river by the rapid current, and were only saved from drowning by cavalrymen and the boatment stationed below the ford for the purpose of rescuing such as might lose their footing, did not seem in the slightest degree to dampen their ardor.

The command was in camp every night at the point designated by the commanding general at an earlier hour than that named in his instructions to me.

Notwithstanding the severity of the march, I have never seen so few stragglers. The conduct of the officers and men in each engagement with the enemy was equally gratifying. The Second Division on Sunday held its line until forced to retire by the appearance of the enemy in its rear. The First Division maintained its position until long after every round of ammunition had been exhausted.

I cannot designate any particular regiment as worthy of special commendation without doing injustice to others, nor can I, with justice, name any of my officers as having particularly distinguished themselves where all did so well. Every one of the general officers discharged his full duty.

I am greatly indebted to General Pleasonton [cavalry leader] for his services on our march from Kelly's Ford to Chancellorsville. He was with me constantly, and greatly assisted me not only by his knowledge of the country, but his experience in conducting a march of this nature.

The members of my staff—Lieut. Col. H. C. Rodgers, Maj. E. W. Guindon, Capts. William W. Moseley and William G. Tracy—each did his duty to my entire satisfaction, in the performance of which the latter was very severely wounded. I am also indebted to Capt. C. F. Morse, provost-martial; Capts. F. W. Butler and I. Thickstun, signal officers, and Lieut. E. Diven, aide-de-camp to General [Nathaniel J.] Jackson, and G. L. Birney, acting assistant quartermaster, who acted during all engagements as volunteer aides.

To other members of my staff—Lieut. Col. S. H. Sturdevant, commissary of subsistence; Lieut. Col. W. R. Hopkins, and Surg. J. McNulty—I am greatly indebted for the able manner in which they discharged the duties of their several departments.

I have to lament the loss of many valuable officers, all of whom were killed in the discharge of their duties. Among them was Colonel Stainrook, One hundred and ninth Pennsylvania; Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, Third Wisconsin; Major Chapman, Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania; Captain Hampton, Hamton's battery, and Lieutenant Crosby, commanding Battery F, Fourth U. S. Artillery.

For further details, I beg leave to refer you to the accompanying reports of my division, brigade and regimental commanders.

I annex a sketch showing the positions occupied by my command on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of May, and inclose a list of the killed, wounded and missing, from which it appears that the loss of the corps was 2,883. [A revised statement shows the loss at 2,822]. Of those reported missing, a large number have been brought in to day, wounded. Many others are

known to have been captured in attempting to reach their original lines on Saturday night, after the rout of the Eleventh Corps.

My command consists of but two small divisions, the Third (Whipple's) Division having been temporarily detached for special service by virtue of Special Orders, No. 303, Headquarters Army of the Potomac, and having never been permitted to rejoin my corps.

My losses, as stated above, were, therefore, about 30 per cent. of my entire effective force.

I am, general, very respectively, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General Commanding.

Brig. Gen. S. WILLIAMS, A. A. G., *Army of the Potomac.*[43]

CHAPTER XVII

BEGINNING OF THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN

There was much for General Slocum to do after the return of his command to Stafford Court House. The picket duty was resumed throughout its long lines. The work of replenishing his depleted ranks, with new recruits or chance companies and regiments from the near defenses of Washington, was at once entered upon with all of its many details too numerous to even mention here. He was insistent upon knowing by personal inspection that all of these details received the attention his orders required. The labor of proper adjustments, and the bringing of new troops of the different arms to the high standard of discipline required, gave no time for listlessness among the officers or men. Dress parades were frequent, and valuable as conducive to proper pride and self respect, individually and collectively. General Slocum possessed the faculties necessary to secure a very high standard of excellence among his men in all soldierly qualities and, at the same time, to secure and retain their respect and confidence.

The larger part of the Army of the Potomac remained encamped at Falmouth, Virginia, again watching the enemy across the Rappahannock, sending out detachments of cavalry to checkmate the enemy's cavalry and other detachments, and changing, often strengthening, pickets and guards in different places throughout the wide extent of country under its possible range.

The strength of General Slocum's XIIth Corps June 1, 1863, was reported briefly as follows: Officers, 530; infantry, 9,401; wagon horses, 897; mules, 1,480; army wagons, 365; two-horse wagons, 12; ambulances, 94; cavalry horses, 102; artillery horses, 397. Total number of animals, 2,876.

It became evident the latter part of May that the enemy had about completed preparations for a movement from Fredericksburg; and early in June some of his larger commands moved up the south side of the river. There were evidences of another invasion of Maryland.

At 10.15 P. M. June 3rd, there was issued by Hooker, yet commanding general, to each corps commander by orderly or telegraph according to distance, a special order to have reveille at daylight the next morning, and each command to stand at arms for half an hour after, the horses of each battery harnessed, and everything in readiness for any movement that might be ordered. The commands were to be then dismissed and directed to be ready for further orders.

The 6th of June Generals Slocum and Howard were called on to each send detachments of 500 infantry—one or two regiments according to completeness—with pack-mules all prepared to be absent several days on special service, the destination and details of which were not given to the detachments. In compliance with this call General Slocum sent the Second Massachusetts and Third Wisconsin regiments to report to General Adelbert Ames at Spotted Tavern for service with General Alfred Pleasonton's Cavalry Corps, which was about to operate against Confederate J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry. The engagements with the enemy at Beverly Ford of the Rappahannock, Fleetwood, and Brandy Station, resulted June 9th in which the enemy was crippled and the object of the expedition was attained.

Slocum's guards replaced those of Howard at the bridges and railway near Stafford Court House June 12th. The 13th Slocum moved his corps by way of Dumfries and across the Occoquan Creek. General Hooker also started toward Washington this day. The 14th and 15th the hospital tents and other camp equipment near Slocum at Potomac Creek and Bottoms were, under his orders, taken to the proper places for protection pre-

paratory to continuing the movement of his corps toward the enemy at 3 o'clock A. M. June 17th.

Keeping the Union army between Washington and the enemy was yet imperative; and only detachments were moved until the enemy was well away from Fredericksburg. General Slocum was on the advance line and was closely followed by the Reserve Artillery. June 18th his march again began at 3.30 A. M. with course to Vienna, Freedom Hill, and Leesburg. He met difficulty in crossing Goose Creek, the water being high and the ford muddy and in bad condition generally.

Slocum was to hold Leesburg, open communication with fords of the Potomac within prudent distance, and hold them also against the enemy. Bridges were needed; and he was apprised of the sending of trains, including those conveying bridges. He was also apprised of the movements of different commands of Union, and Confederate, troops, all for mutual understanding and support. The importance of great alertness and facility of communication to guard against sudden attacks of the enemy in all forms including guerrillas, and the avoidance of clashings between different bodies of Union troops, necessitated the establishment of telegraph lines, signal stations, and courier lines, in order that all his troops could readily communicate with his headquarters, and he with other headquarters. The details of such varied and general service was particularly fatiguing. The enemy's cavalry was this day, June 18th, at Point of Rocks destroying railway trains on the north side of the Potomac about equidistant between Leesburg below and Harper's Ferry above. General Howard with his XIth Corps, now at Goose Creek, was ordered to be subject to the command of General Slocum; also other Union troops now on the north side of the Potomac.

The commanding general issued orders June 18th forbidding editors of newspapers to publish the position of his headquarters, and the position of Union troops unless engaged in battle.[45] June 19th was a very busy day with General Slocum, notwithstanding his loss of sleep the two previous nights. Reports to the commanding general's headquarters regarding the fords of the Potomac above and below, with repetition of reasons why certain ones were not desirable: receiving and transmitting reports re-

garding the presence, or absence at certain places, of the enemy, and the positions of the Union troops, while keeping oversight of the work of his own corps, all contributed much to his fatigue; but he reported his position and command sufficient for local defense, including the river fords in hand, but not for all fords inquired about, particularly against large forces of guerrillas and others of the enemy. He recommended a bridge at Edwards' Ferry for convenience, and as being a good defensive position.

Three soldiers of General Williams' 1st Division deserted. They were pursued, caught, and at once tried before a military court according to the rules of war. This court sentenced them to be shot at noon. The condemned men were engaged during the forenoon in writing to their friends. Two were apparently penitent. Their division was paraded as witnesses of the execution, and the entire corps, excepting those soldiers necessarily on picket and guard duties, was formed in hollow square in a large field near the encampment. All officers were present. An army wagon containing three coffins, followed by a closed ambulance containing the prisoners, came upon the field. The boxes were placed beside the open graves and the prisoners were seated upon them. A chaplain made an impressive prayer, and the twenty-four executioners did the work of justice, while the unmerciful enemy was not far away. The division, which these men deserted in its time of need, then marched by their fallen comrades; and the corps resumed its duties.[46]

Two signal officers reported June 20th to General Slocum for duty; and they proved themselves efficient and valuable aids. Communication was now opened by flag signals between General Slocum's headquarters and those of General Reynolds' 1st Corps then at Guilford Station; with General Howard's XIth Corps then at Trappe Rock; also by signal telegraph with Maryland at Poolesville, Sugarloaf Mountain, Point of Rocks, and Maryland Heights. These signal officers also made reconnoissances under Slocum's orders.

Part of the XIIth Corps was now reported as occupying three redoubts constructed by the enemy, one of which protected the approaches to Edwards' Ferry. The position was a strong one, and Slocum was yet improving it. The large command of the Confederate General Ewell, with whom General

Slocum had later to contend, was reported as near Winchester. The engineers reported regarding progress in the bridges across the Potomac River and Goose Creek.

Upon receiving inquiry June 21st from army headquarters regarding the enemy at great distance, General Slocum reported that he had no information, and that he had no cavalry for reconnoissance. He was thereupon informed that General Pleasonton had been directed to send him a regiment of cavalry for use in scouting the country between Bull Run and the Blue Ridge Mountains. The engineers reported the completion this day of the Edwards' Ferry bridge across the Potomac, it being 1,340 feet in length. A contraband (freed slave) was brought before the General and he reported the whereabouts of several Confederate commands including that of Ewell. A deserter from Longstreet's corps was also brought in and he confirmed the negro's report that Longstreet's and other corps of the enemy were in the Blue Ridge Mountain Gaps, and Ewell in Maryland. General Slocum further reported from Leesburg to army headquarters that with more artillery he could keep secure all the fords of the Potomac below Edwards' Ferry. The next day Hooker suggested to Slocum that he could get batteries from Howard's corps if artillery was needed before cavalry was obtained to escort the artillery reserves to him.

Further reports to Slocum June 23rd confirmed the presence of the enemy, Longstreet's strong command at least, near Snicker's Gap, which yet showed Slocum's position an advance one. Upon the advancement of the enemy toward Maryland, further inquiries came to Slocum about midnight regarding Potomac fords between the enemy and Washington; and he was prepared to report satisfactorily at once.

Another regiment of cavalry was received June 24th, which enabled Slocum to ascertain regarding the movements of the enemy in the Shenandoah Valley as well as east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. He was also further reinforced by another brigade of infantry, which increased his recent accessions three thousand men or more.

General Slocum's headquarters now increased in importance as a center for receiving and transmitting reports, orders, and communications generally. General Howard's XIth Corps was

moved forward to cooperate according to Slocum's directions. June 25th General Reynolds' 1st Corps, Sickles' IIIrd Corps, and the XIth Corps, were advanced toward Harper's Ferry. Slocum was able this day to declare certain rumors regarding location and strength of the enemy to be exaggerations. Orders continued to be received for the movement of different Union corps.

Having detached sufficient forces June 26th, to hold Leesburg and the bridges and fords until the arrival of General Mead's Vth Corps, General Slocum marched his XIIth Corps from Leesburg, Virginia, at 3 o'clock A. M., crossed the Potomac by the upper bridge at Edwards' Ferry, turned to the left up the river, crossed the Monocacy River near its mouth, and proceeded up the Potomac to Trammelstown near Point of Rocks. Most of his detachments that had been left behind were soon relieved and overtook the main body at this place.

General Slocum's march the 27th was continued to Knoxville, Maryland, and he there received at night, directions from the commanding general to be ready to march light at 4 o'clock next morning with ambulances, but with small if any trains; that Colonel Charles R. Lowell, Jr., then at Poolesville, would report to him for service with a regiment of cavalry; also two brigades of troops from General William H. French's command to join Slocum at 6 A. M., at Harper's Ferry; and that further communication would be sent in the night. This dispatch from General Hooker bore date June 27th, 8 P. M. Soon after its reading, another dispatch came from the same source countermanding the previous one, and directing that Colonel Lowell report to General French at Harper's Ferry; and that General Slocum with his XIIth Corps should march to army headquarters, at Frederick, Maryland.

These were the last orders, command or countermand, issued by Major-General Joseph Hooker as commanding general of the Army of the Potomac. His plan was to place General Slocum in command of a force sufficient to effectually keep between the Confederate army, then in Maryland, and its base of supplies, harassing its rear during its advancement, and to hold its retreat when checked by other parts of the Union army on its front and flank, in order that the entire invading enemy might be captured.

The authorities in Washington, who kept informed of every important movement, objected to the removal of the garrison from Harper's Ferry and, as Hooker thought, undertook to hamper him in other ways; and he resigned the command of the army.

President Lincoln immediately accepted his resignation and ordered Hooker to report at once to Washington, thus taking him away from the army at once.

CHAPTER XVIII

Beginning of the Battle of Gettysburg

The authorities at Washington were as alert regarding their commanding generals as they were regarding the movements of the enemy. Hooker had done well in putting the Army of the Potomac in good condition for the field, as he had done before the Chancellorsville Campaign. But his superiors began to fear, if not to observe, erratic actions that excited anew their remembrance of the sad results at Chancellorsville. They knew the anxiety of the corps commanders; and it could not have been otherwise than that Hooker at times had grave apprehensions of himself. In this new campaign he had apparently been very considerate toward General Slocum and, at the turning point of the campaign, placed him in command of a force, and in position, commensurate with his deserts and where he could be largely independent of Hooker's commands or want of proper commands. Slocum was determined not to be again entrapped by Hooker, as he was at Chancellorsville, and he rejoiced at Hooker's resignation, which was undoubtedly providential.

The Washington authorities were fully prepared for the change of commanding general and a courier was at once hastened to Frederick to place Major-General George G. Meade of the Vth Corps in full command of the Army of the Potomac; and the next morning, June 28th, Meade issued his first general order accordingly.

General Slocum arrived at Frederick with his command about 2 P. M. of the 28th and, to aid in guarding this town during the night against any possible dash of the enemy's cavalry he extended his command during the afternoon from General Reynolds' Ist Corps on the Middletown Road to Zimmerman's by

Ballinger's Creek, and there connected with General Hancock's IInd Corps.

Marching orders against the enemy were issued that evening for 4 A. M. June 29th. At that hour Slocum proceeded, passed through Ceresville, Walkersville, and Woodsborough, to Taneytown, Maryland. The Reserve Artillery was to precede Slocum and to encamp for the night between Middleburg and Taneytown. General Henry H. Lockwood was to report his command to General Slocum and march with him. Slocum had early reported to Meade that there were a great number of soldiers from different corps lying about the streets of Frederick in a very drunken condition when he marched his command through the town; and he suggested the necessity of a cavalry force being sent back to bring them to their commands.

The XIIth Corps continued its former northeasterly course June 30th. Slocum's cavalry had a skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, which did not materially delay his march to Littlestown and Westminster, Pennsylvania. This day he passed General Sickles and his IIIrd Corps. General Slocum kept close study of the country as a necessary rule of war; and now, being near strong commands of the enemy, he was specially alert to avoid being attacked unawares, night or day in his troops or trains bearing supplies. The evening of this day he received a dispatch from Meade, requesting him to take command of the Vth Corps in addition to his present command.

General Slocum's course of march July 1st was changed to a north-westerly direction to the village of Two Taverns, situated about five miles southeast of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

The circular issued this day from the commanding general's headquarters, informed the generals of the different corps that, if the enemy assumed the offensive and attacked he should be held in check long enough to withdraw wagon trains, then the Union force should withdraw to a line of battle in the general direction of Pipe Creek, a tributary of the Monocacy River, and a few miles south of the Pennsylvania State line. In this case General John F. Reynolds was to take command of the Union Left to be composed of Reynolds' Ist Corps, Sickles' IIIrd Corps, and Howard's XIth Corps; and General Slocum was to assume command of the Union Right Wing to be composed of Meade's

Vth Corps now under General George Sykes, and of General John S. Sedgwick's VIth Corps, all in addition to Slocum's own XIIth Corps. General W. S. Hancock with the IInd Corps was to be held as reserve. The region of Pipe Creek was surveyed by the Army Engineers for the battle-field, embracing a line of battle about twenty-five miles in extent, and the points of vantage were chosen for the Union forces. A very important party, however, the enemy, was not consulted regarding the Pipe Creek field, and the battle rather accidentally, or incidentally, ensued at Gettysburg many miles distant.

Had the enemy desired a general battle with the Army of the Potomac he would have sought it in Virginia nearer his base of supplies and before it was recruited after Chancellorsville. The enemy's desire was, rather, to levy tribute on one or more wealthy northern cities sufficient to gain recognition and greater favors from European nations, as well as prestige nearer home; and, probably, he was no more anxious for a general battle than was Meade.

The morning and afternoon of July 1st, Slocum received dispatches from Meade informing him of the enemy's gathering at Gettysburg, of their engagement there with part of the Left Wing, and referring him to the circular before mentioned, for his guidance. But the enemy, like the widely scattered Union forces, was drawn part by part into the Battle of Gettysburg by the desire to help the comrades already there engaged.

The skirmishing began about nine or ten o'clock A. M., the Confederates thinking that they sighted militia which could soon be scattered, as had been the case with them for several days. But here they first met part of General Reynolds' scattered corps. Unfortunately for the Union force engaged, General Reynolds, an active, strong officer, was killed early in the attack. His loss resulted in the confusion of his outnumbered men from his, and their own, great loss. This was a bad beginning for the Union cause. General Howard arrived at Gettysburg late in the morning, and at 12.15 P. M. his XIth Corps began to arrive, and the rear arrived at about 1.30 P. M. More of the enemy arriving about the same time, a second engagement began about 2.00 P. M.[33]

General Howard, justly alarmed, had sent to Slocum for

help. Slocum's leading division, the IInd, arrived at Two Taverns at 11 A. M., and about the time of the arrival of his Ist Division Howard's call was delivered. This call did not give sufficient reason for Slocum to answer it immediately as desired inasmuch as Howard, as well as Slocum, had received a copy of the circular directing retreat on Pipe Creek. Slocum was bound by the same order not to bring on a general engagement elsewhere. He was occupying the post where stationed by his commanding officer, and like the faithful, obedient commander that he was, he remained at his post of duty. Furthermore he had not heard guns. A farmer of the vicinity now came from the direction of Gettysburg and reported severe fighting there. This report, in connection with Howard's call for help, caused the command of Attention to at once pass from Slocum to his corps, which was ready in a few minutes to take up the march. They started, and soon met orders from Meade, by way of Hancock, to proceed to Gettysburg. Slocum responded promptly,[22] his command being on the march at 2 P. M. Slocum also dispatched to Hanover for the VIth Corps, and to the Vth Corps which was yet nearer, to proceed at once to Gettysburg.

The day was hot, the road was filled with dust, and the soldiers, worn by continued long marches, were showing their fatigue by their irregular steps and carriage. Upon hearing the guns of the second engagement at Gettysburg, Slocum passed along the weary ranks "saying in his cheery, pleasant way, press on men, as rapidly as you can. There is fighting in front of us. Press on and follow me. And at once that tired and drooping column straightened up as if a thrill of new life and energy had been put into it, and hurrying on it soon came upon the field of battle."[47] General Slocum made the best time of all in arriving for the rescue.[48] The Second Division of the 'Steadfast Slocum'[49] arrived at Gettysburg and was in position for battle at Little Round Top at five o'clock P. M., its line extending toward the hill on the left.[50] The Ist Division of Slocum's men on arriving at Rock Creek under General A. S. Williams, turned to the right and moved toward Wolf Hill for the purpose of flanking the enemy's left; but Slocum, on learning that the Union forces had retreated to Cemetery Ridge, ordered General Williams to the Baltimore Pike across Rock Creek and, Slocum then went to

THE BATTLEFIELD
Forty-Eight Years After the Battle
Springs Hotel
Springs Dam
HAGERSTOWN
CHAMBE
REYNOLDS
Reynolds Grove
John Burns Statue
Reynolds Statue
Burfords Statue
AVE.
ROAD
SEMINARY AVE.
DOUBLEDAY
MARYLAND RAIL WAY
CONFEDERATE
EMMITSBURG
Observation Tower
PEACH ORCHARD
ELECTRIC RY.
WHEAT FIELD
WHEATFIELD ROAD
DEVILS DEN
UNITED STATES AVE.
LITTLE ROUND TOP
ROUND TOP
Observation Tower
SEDGWICK AVE
HANCOCK AVE
TANEYTOWN ROAD
Gettysburg
Harrisburg
And
R.R.
U.S. Regular Monument
High Water Mark
Bloody Angle
ELECTRIC RY.
Penna. State Monument
PLEASONTON AVE
Meades Statue
Meades Headquarters
Observation Tower
National Cemetery
Evergreen Cemetery
Hancocks Statue
GETTYSBURG
W.M. Depot
MUMMASBURG
CARLISLE
PIKE
Gen'l Slocum Monument
Gen'l Green Mon.
Observation Tower
Slocum Headquarters
BALTIMORE
SLOCUM
CULPS HILL
AVE.
ROAD
Spanglers Spring
CONFEDERATE
13th N.J. Monument
Creek
Rock
Creek
HARRISBURG
WESTERN
HUNTERSTOWN
N

the Union headquarters at the Cemetery where he, by right of seniority, assumed command of all the Union forces then at Gettysburg, which included the shattered Ist and XIth Corps, with the afternoon's reinforcements of the IIIrd Corps under Sickles, and his own XIIth Corps, 'thus making secure the Union position, which before offered an easy prey to the Confederates.'[33]

General O. O. Howard of the XIth Corps, who was in a high state of perturbation, received Slocum as a deliverer. After many years had elapsed he said in a public address that: 'It would require the entire history of Gettysburg to fairly portray Slocum's part there. After securing the Cemetery on that eventful night he and I slept side by side at the Cemetery Gate. Together we there met Meade who arrived about three o'clock in the morning of the 2nd of July.'[52]

The Union troops rested on their guns during the night. Reinforcements of the enemy arrived in the evening in large numbers but they made no attack. The Union general commanding, Meade, arrived at Cemetery Ridge early in the morning from Taneytown, Maryland.

Upon viewing the situation by daylight, Thursday morning July 2nd, General Meade commenced forming his line on the extreme Union right for the purpose of descending to the plain below Culp's Hill, one of the most important parts of the region, and there attacking the enemy's left. General Slocum was chosen to make this attack. After careful examination of this region in all of its parts Slocum thought Meade's plan impracticable and unwise, and so reported to him. General Gouverneur K. Warren, Chief Engineer of the army, was directed to consider this question and, after his careful examination, he agreed with Slocum's report.[33]

Slocum was then stationed on Culp's Hill in command of the entire Right Wing, which place he at once intrenched and made secure, plenty of timber and rock being at hand. Rock Creek at the base of the Hill separated Slocum's pickets from those of the enemy. The Vth Corps, also under Slocum's command, was but a few miles away, having marched well into the night. It began to arrive about 7 A. M. and two divisions were stationed as reserve.

In the afternoon the enemy opened his cannon on all parts of the Union line, that upon the left being at first most severe, and Slocum's Vth Corps was sent to that part of the field. The enemy's artillery fire at the Union center was mainly to prevent reinforcements being moved along the line, but it was not fully effective for that purpose.

Howard's XIth Corps, shattered by the vigorous onslaughts of the enemy the first day of the battle, appeared to be resting quietly as the enemy's bombardment nearly ceased. At this time General Early, of Ewell's corps, in front of the Union right, decided to take action by sending two brigades about dark up the narrow ravine leading to the stone wall behind which part of Howard's men were posted; and who were aroused before all the enemy had time to climb over the wall. A sharp contest drove the enemy back, the troops of Slocum on Culp's Hill helping. Slocum's artillery had more than held its own against that of the enemy until called away by Meade; also his skirmishing line of small arms in aid of Howard's men.

The general commanding the Union army had become so fully absorbed on the Left Wing as to ignore the Right Wing further than to use it as a source of supply of reinforcements for the Left. He called for General Slocum's entire XIIth Corps, all of the troops remaining on the Right, to be sent to the Left. This order was met by Slocum's statement that it could not be spared. Meade, however, could see only the Left, and was importunate. Slocum sent his First Division to answer the call. This part of Slocum's men drove the enemy from the woods at Little Round Top and recaptured three pieces of artillery formerly captured by the enemy before the arrival of Slocum's men. Meade again insisted upon more men from Slocum's command. Again Slocum hesitated, as Meade called for the abandonment of a most important position to the enemy; and the generals of his second division united with Slocum in a statement to Meade that the strong lines of the enemy seen in the morning were yet opposing them, and the enemy's advance on them was imminent. Meade, in his excitement at the Left, again called for the remaining part of Slocum's XIIth Corps, and Slocum warmly requested that at least a division should remain to attempt to hold the position; but Meade was obstinate

and would consent to leave but a brigade when he already had more troops massed on the left than he could there use.

General Meade's reluctant consent to leave but one small brigade of Slocum's men to protect the Right Wing, barely saved the Army of the Potomac from being overwhelmed in an irretrievable disaster.[25] Slocum's name and ability were equal, however, to victory both at the Right Wing, also at the Left Wing where Meade passed all of his time.

With the small number of troops remaining to him on the Right, Slocum rose equal to the emergency confronting him, and confronting the Union as well. He was well seconded by his able and obedient brigade general, George S. Greene. The force remaining at Culp's Hill now consisted of only five regiments of infantry composed of only 1,350 men. These regiments were: The 60th New York under Colonel Abel Godard; the 78th New York, Colonel Herbert von Hammerstein; 102nd New York, Colonel Lewis R. Stegman; 137th New York, Colonel David Ireland; and the 149th New York, Colonel Henry A. Barnum. These regiments will be again recorded later in this book as among the best and most efficient of soldiers.

With this small body of troops General Slocum attempted to occupy the vacancy in the breastworks, left by their departing comrades, by extending their line to the right one man deep with intervals between each one. Before this movement could be accomplished his skirmishers were driven in by the oncoming enemy. Major-General Edward Johnson's division of Lieutenant-General R. S. Ewell's IInd Confederate Corps, was the nearest to General Slocum's front and, when he saw the depleted condition of Slocum's line, he was sent with his division of four brigades to capture Slocum's one small brigade, not half as large as each one of Johnson's brigades.

When the enemy was within easy range of Slocum's men each one, as directed, chose his man. The volleys that followed in rapid succession, withered the enemy's lines, each one causing him to seek refuge in the woods in his rear to reform. The enemy thus advanced repeatedly to dislodge or capture Slocum's men and to gain their breastworks, but without success, the strong works being a great protection to the assailed and the means of direful disaster to the assailants. The Confederate

General George H. Steuart's brigade at last overlapped the right of Slocum's wing, and Steuart led his men into the breastworks there vacated by Slocum's men when sent to Meade's support. This gave Steuart's men opportunity to fire on the flank of Colonel Ireland's regiment, and this regiment was withdrawn to the rear under cover of the darkness now come; and it reformed in line at right angle to its former line, thus facing the enemy. At this time small reinforcements of 350 men from the Ist, and 475 from the XIth Corps arrived, and they, with the darkness of the night now pervading made yet darker by the smoke of the guns, enabled Slocum's men to hold their position during the night.

This sturdy defense of Culp's Hill by General George S. Green's brigade of Slocum's men, was one of the most remarkable achievements at the Battle of Gettysburg. The 60th New York Regiment captured two flags. After discharging their guns at close quarters, thus thinning and confusing the nearby enemy, several Union soldiers jumped over the breastworks and took several of the flag-bearing enemy prisoners with their flags. Colonel David Ireland's 137th New York Regiment lost 137 of its number, viz.: 40 killed including four officers; 87 wounded, and 10 captured or missing. It suffered more than any other of Slocum's regiments.

The Second Maryland Confederate Infantry advanced further on Culp's Hill than any other of the combatting enemy; and this point is now marked by a monument.

The Confederate General Johnson left part of his division to hold the position won, and with strong reconnoitering force he moved cautiously up the valley of the run in rear of Culp's Hill, going even as far as the Baltimore Pike, within 400 yards of the Union reserve artillery, ammunition and other supply trains, and on the line of retreat of the Union army, as well as in its rear. Even Meade's headquarters were but little distant from them. The stillness at this point was alarming, and Johnson remarked to his staff, 'this is too easy; I believe the Yanks have set a trap for us.' They hastily retraced their steps to their comrades in Slocum's breastworks, where they arrived about midnight, and there passed the night.[48 51]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Confederates had much of their own way July 1st, the first day of the Battle of Gettys-

burg, and that a few of their men broke through the Union line the afternoon of July 3rd, in their gallant but hopeless charge on the center, the advance of the Confederates on Culp's Hill against, and on the right flank of, the Union Right Wing the evening of July 2nd, advancing as they did to the rear of the Union army unmolested by the grace of the Union commanding general Meade, and then sleeping calmly during the night in the Meade-vacated Union breastworks, we must declare General Johnson's position as the real 'high tide' or 'high water mark' of the Confederates' opportunity in the Battle of Gettysburg.

The great difference between the commanding generals at Gettysburg appears to have been, with Lee not to improve his chances of success by getting away from his line of retreat; while Meade trusted his trains, ammunition, and his highly treasured line of retreat to the care of General Slocum and then forcefully took Slocum's men to another part of the field leaving the approach to his treasures open to the enemy.

Lieutenant-General R. S. Ewell's Corps was composed largely of Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson's men. Every careful reader of the full story of the Civil War knows what General Jackson would have been doing with them that afternoon and evening had his life been spared at Chancellorsville. One of his marvelous detours around Culp's Hill would have cut off Meade's carefully planned retreat, captured his supply trains, and would have routed, if not captured, the Union army.[22] [48]

CHAPTER XIX

Council of War. Confederates Defeated

The commanding general, Meade, the evening of the second day's battle, called his corps commanders to a council of war at his headquarters. Twelve generals were present including Meade, his chief of staff Butterfield, Warren the chief engineer who was wounded and slept during the meeting, and A. S. Williams of Slocum's XIIth Corps. General Sickles of the IIIrd Corps, who was wounded and unable to be present, was represented by his division commander Brigadier-General Birney. Hancock and Brigadier-General John Gibbon represented the IInd Corps.

General Meade presented three questions for settlement. The first related to retiring the Union army from Gettysburg to a place nearer the base of supplies; the second related to the advisability of attacking the enemy or awaiting his attack; and the third regarding the time of attack, if attack was decided upon. These questions evoked considerable discussion. None was satisfied with the condition of affairs, few favored retiring from Gettysburg, and all who spoke first favored delay. As in all professional councils the senior in rank, General Slocum in this instance, was the last one called on for his opinion. With evident displeasure from having been unnecessarily deprived of the most of the soldiers of his command to the great detriment of his Right Wing, as well as thereby the endangering of the entire army, General Slocum's reply was at once terse and emphatically "Stay and Fight It Out." This injunction was, however, quickly followed by what was really a demand that his XIIth Corps, at least, be at once restored to him that he might at daybreak the next morning attack the enemy opposing his front, drive him back, and at least preserve the full and proper lines of his Wing.

The rough minutes in part of this historic council have been preserved, and formulated as follows, namely:

Minutes of Council, July 2nd, 1863:

Page 1, Questions asked:

1. Under existing circumstances is it advisable for this army to remain in its present position, or to retire to another nearer its base of supplies?

2. It being determined to remain in present position, shall the army attack or wait the attack of the enemy?

3. If we wait attack, how long?

Page 2, Replies:

Gibbon: 1. Correct position of the army, but would not retreat. 2. In no condition to attack, in his opinion. 3. Until he moves.

Williams: 1. Stay. 2. Wait attack. 3. One day.

Birney: Same as General Williams.

Sykes: Same as General Williams.

Newton: 1. Correct position of the army, but would not retreat. 2. By all means not attack. 3. If we wait it will give them a chance to cut our line.

Page 3:

Howard: 1. Remain. 2. Wait attack until 4 P. M. to-morrow. 3. If don't attack, attack them.

Hancock: 1. Rectify position without moving so as to give up field.

2. Not attack unless our communications are cut. 3. Can't wait long; can't be idle.

Sedgwick: 1. Remain [2.] and wait attack. [3.] At least one day.

Slocum: Stay and fight it out.

[On the back, of the first page of the sheet]:

Slocum, stay and fight it out. Newton thinks it a bad position; Hancock puzzled about practicability of retiring; thinks by holding on, inviting, to mass forces, and attack. Howard favor of not retiring. Birney don't know. Third Corps used up and not in good condition to fight. Sedgwick, doubtful whether we ought to attack. Effective strength about 9,000, 12,500, 9,000, 6,000, 8,500, 6,000, 7,000. Total, 58,000.

Colonel George Meade deposited the original sheets of the Minutes of this Council of War with the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.[22] [50]

General Slocum's emphatic stand, and his desire to take the initiative, infused like spirit in the other commanders and won their hearty approval, whereupon the council closed.[50] Slocum at once set to work to recall the parts of his XIIth Corps that had been called to the suport of the Union left, and, at midnight they were positioned to cover the line of the Baltimore Pike, his leading column coming on soon after the Confederate General Johnson's reconnoitering force retraced its steps; but neither knew of the other's proximity, Slocum having had no men with which to picket the ground, and thinking that Johnson remained in the breastworks with his men. Slocum's artillery arm was also carefully strengthened and positioned, and all arms had definite orders from him to assault the enemy as soon as he could be seen in the morning.

The enemy opposing Slocum was also strongly reinforced during the night by Smith's brigade from General Early's division, and Daniel's, and O'Neal's brigades from Rodes' division, of Ewell's Corps, all numbering 12,000 men or more, strong, a far larger force than Slocum's. Ewell also held several brigades in reserve.

Thus opposed by a far superior force, Slocum did not await the enemy's convenience, but opened the battle at early dawn; and the roar of his heavy guns aroused all the other parts of both armies which remained quiet as though on tiptoe of anticipation; Lee, apparently with full confidence in Ewell to take care of his left; and Meade, apparently with equal confidence in Slo-

cum whether he had sufficient troops, and support, or not. The battle that ensued was not only the longest of all engagements at Gettysburg, seven hours duration, but it displayed some of the most brilliant fighting of the entire war. Slocum's artillery was the more advantageously placed, and gave the enemy a destructive cross fire which threw him into confusion and compelled him to seek shelter in the woods for reforming his lines. When he again approached, his ranks were met by Slocum's men who had also been reformed to meet them with small arms' cross fire as well as by artillery. But the enemy was composed of similar veterans who had been tutored by a like disciplinarian, and they were possessed with the same determination to make favorable record, and they fought accordingly.

About nine o'clock in the morning the Second Maryland Confederate Infantry, which had held the highest point attained in the night, made a bold and desperate attempt to storm a part of the summit and get lodgment in Slocum's commanding position; but it was quickly repulsed with the loss of its Colonel and half of its men. This ambitious regiment was opposed by the First Maryland Regiment of Slocum's men, neighbors against neighbors. A half hour later Ruger's division of Slocum's troops was swung around to the right taking the enemy in flank and 'rolling' his forces up the opposing ridge in grand form. Now was the looked for opportunity by Slocum's men of General Geary's division. They sprang forward with loud cheers, impetuously assailed the enemy remaining in the Union breastworks to their right, drove him back and, supported by the Ist Division which constructed the works, this part of the enemy that did not meet death or capture, hastily retreated to the woods. At 11 o'clock Slocum was again in full possession of the lines of the Right Wing of the Army, and the enemy was more distant from his front than they were the day before.

Of the losses in Slocum's battle, those of the enemy were reported as 2,015 in Johnson's command, and those of the three additional brigades of other divisions of Ewell's Corps were not definitely reported. Slocum's losses were 1,156. More than 500 prisoners were captured from the enemy.

Slocum did not use all of his command at Gettysburg in this battle. Parts of the Vth and VIth Corps were not em-

ployed. As soon as his front regiments were short of ammunition they were relieved by others, passed to the rear where they gathered fresh supply, cleaned their guns, and were then returned to the front, their cheers ringing clear and loud. Many cases of heroism could be enumerated as occurring on both sides, the Union and the Confederate, for Americans were battling against Americans, and each side had to reckon with no weak foe.

Much has been written about the contests at Gettysburg on the Union Left and Center; but comparatively little has been written about the contests on the Union Right—of the most important work done by Slocum there, and of the opportunities and possibilities of the enemy there the afternoon and first part of the night of July 2nd from the unwitting, arbitrary action of General Meade in depriving the Right Wing of its sadly needed defenders. General Oliver O. Howard, after time for mature thought said: "The most impressive incident of the great battle of Gettysburg was Slocum's own battle. I was awakened from my bed in the Cemetery the morning of the 3rd of July at daybreak by the startling roar of Slocum's guns. Slocum's resolute insistence the afternoon of July 2nd and his organized work and battle of the ensuing morning, in my judgment prevented Meade's losing the battle of Gettysburg. It was a grand judgment and action of Slocum's; a step all-important and essential to victory."[52]

General George S. Greene who so gallantly stood by General Slocum's commands and personally inspired his brave brigade with Slocum's ne'er give up tenacity, afterwards wrote: "To the discernment of General Slocum who saw the danger to which the army would be exposed by the movement ordered by Meade to deplete the Right Wing the afternoon of July 2nd, and who took the responsibility of modifying the orders which he had received from Meade, is due the honor of having saved the army from a great and perhaps fatal disaster."[22]

Between 10 and 11 o'clock A. M. July 3rd, "everything looked favorable with General Slocum's command on the right," wrote General Henry J. Hunt, Chief of Artillery, in reporting his inspection of the battle-field, "and I crossed over to Cemetery Ridge to see what might be going on at other points. Here a magnificent display greeted my eyes. Our whole front for two

miles was covered by [the enemy's] batteries already in line or going into position. They stretched, apparently in one unbroken mass, from opposite the town on our right to the Peach Orchard, which bounded the view to the left, the ridges of which were planted thick with cannon. Never before had such a sight been witnessed on this continent, and rarely, if ever, abroad. What did it mean? It might possibly be to hold that line while its infantry was sent to aid Ewell [to break through Slocum's Right Wing] or to guard against a counter-stroke from us; but it most probably meant an assault or our center, to be preceded by a cannonade in order to crush our batteries and shake our infantry; at least to cause us to exhaust our ammunition in reply, so that the assaulting troops might pass in good condition over the half mile of open ground which was beyond our effective musketry fire."[22]

Orders were issued along the Union front, beginning with Slocum's Right Wing, to withhold fire, for the conserving of ammunition until it was developed where best results could be obtained. The enemy's 138 cannon soon opened along his entire line "the severest artillery fire that I had ever witnessed" wrote General Slocum in his Official Report. This great effort of the enemy caused Slocum concern regarding his men who were obliged to seek sheltered places as much as practicable from the great flight of solid shot and shell.

Following the cannonading the enemy assaulted the Union left center, and Slocum moved his Ist Division of the XIIth Corps to the support of that part of the field. This was the last great effort of the enemy, and he was roundly beaten; after which comparative quiet prevailed during the night.

The enemy kept strong picket and front lines before Slocum's position during this night of July 3rd; but early next morning it was reported that he was withdrawing. Slocum's line was at once advanced, and it occupied the enemy's Rock Creek defenses without opposition. General Slocum also ordered forward General Ruger's brigade of his Ist Division of the XIIth Corps, and accompanied it in person in a reconnoissance of the country for several miles to the eastward, and returning to the northward and westward they passed through the Village

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MAJOR GENERAL HENRY WARNER SLOCUM

On Culps Hill, Battle-field of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with its Surroundings. Looking Southwestwardly.
Erected by the State of New York, 1902

of Gettysburg. Reconnoissances westward and southward also showed that the enemy had fully retreated.

In the meantime burying the dead was continued until about one thousand of the Confederate killed were buried in front of Slocum's position. Many others had been buried by their comrades. Several thousand small arms were collected, and many others were left scattered around this part of the field when the calls to other service were sounded.

Soon after midday July 4th, a most remarkable thunder storm burst over the battle-field and the country for many miles around. The rain fell in sheets which soon formed torrents in every depression, washing away everything movable. The darkness was intense between the lightning flashes. This storm, however, did not prevent Confederate General John B. Imboden's, and the other forces of the enemy's continued preparations for retreat, according to General Lee's directions. Imboden's forces gathered the wagon trains, and ambulances, loaded those of their wounded thought able to ride, and started towards Chambersburg; the most rapidly moving, and probably the saddest of all the sad columns of the retreating Confederates.[22]

The earlier reports of losses in the Battle of Gettysburg showed those on the Union side to be: 2,834 killed, 13,790 wounded, and 6,643 missing. No accurate account of the enemy's loss could be obtained. One early account from Union source reads that 4,500 of his dead were buried by Union soldiers, that 26,500 wounded were left on the field, and that 13,621 prisoners not wounded were captured. That there were taken from the enemy 41 standards of colors, 3 cannon, and 24,973 small arms.[53] Another report gives the enemy's loss as low as 20,000 which is, probably, as much too low as the preceding number is too high. A later report, which is probably as accurate as can be obtained, reads: Union, killed, 3,155; wounded, 14,529; missing, 5,365; total, 23,049. Confederate, killed, 3,903; wounded, 18,375; missing, 5,425; total, 28,063.[114]

Many great characters in history have left notable sentiments indicative of one or more of their prominent characteristics which should be preserved as texts to be treasured as remind-

ers, and incentives, for the youth, and even throughout the lives of most people.

General Slocum's terse declaration to the Council of War in the dark hour of the Battle of Gettysburg of STAY AND FIGHT IT OUT should early be instilled into the mind and effort of every child, youth, and adult, and repeated at every halting or wearisome stage of worthy endeavor.

As General Slocum declared in that near-desponding council, so would the battle have ended—for the preservation of the Union, or for the victory of the Confederate States. His unhesitating pronouncement gave new hope, vigor, and expectation to his wavering audience of generals; and his prompt and emphatic work during the night, and his prompt and vigorous battle at daybreak, saved the Union army from direful defeat, probably resulting in disruption of the Union.

CHAPTER XX

The Pursuit of the Retreating Enemy

The commanding general, Meade, has been much criticised, and censured, regarding his tardy beginning and slow pursuit of the enemy from the field of Gettysburg battle. Neither the right nor left wing commander, nor the commander of any corps, is proper subject of criticism for this, as each and all, in movement, were subject at all times to the order of the commanding general of the army. Each evening every corps commander received, from the headquarters of the army, description of the course and action to be taken by his corps the next day, with such details as would enable the commanding general to know at all times the position of all his forces.

From early in the morning of the retreat, Union cavalry detachments were around to harass the beaten and retreating foe. Sunday, July 5th, different corps of infantry started in pursuit of him, particularly the largest and least battle exhausted VIth Corps, under direct orders of General Meade. General Slocum, now to act on the Union left that he might be in position for best getting in front of the enemy, marched to Littletown, Pennsylvania, July 5th with his command now composed of the XIIth and IInd Corps and, strictly according to Meade's orders re-

mained there two days. He resumed the march at 4 A. M. of July 7th, and continued to Walkersville, Maryland, a distance of twenty-nine miles through much rain and mud, with soldiers yet much fatigued with former marchings, the excitement and strain of a great battle, and many without shoes. They passed through Frederick the 8th, and to the neighborhood of Jefferson. The evening of this day Slocum was directed to relieve some Pennsylvania militia then at Crampton's Pass, and to send them to their brigade to the northward.

The reader should bear in mind that great excitement prevailed throughout the northeastern States when the Confederate Army of Virginia began the invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania the latter part of June, and that great efforts were made, especially by Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and New Jersey, to enlist volunteers for the protection of these States particularly. Martial Law was declared in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The last named State was divided into two Militry Departments, that of the Monongahela, to embrace the western part of this State and eastern Ohio, with headquarters at Pittsburg; and the Department of the Susquehanna, to embrace the eastern part of the State, with headquarters at Harrisburg. Major-General Darius N. Couch, a veteran of good repute, was assigned to the command of this last named Department. Maryland had headquarters at Baltimore. Large numbers of men volunteered in these Departments, for local protection mainly. A general call by the Washington authorities also brought large enlistment for United States service. To illustrate the inefficiency of many of these new recruits in emergency like this invasion, a report of Brigadier-General William F. Smith is here given; and it may show to many why the enemy was not caught while on his retreat. General Smith was a very efficient officer who had seen much service as a division commander with McClellan during his Peninsular Campaign, in the Battle of the Antietam, and elsewhere. During the Gettysburg Campaign he was in charge of the Pennsylvania militia south of the Susquehanna River. His report to General Meade July 8th, 1863, from Waynesborough, Pennsylvania, was as follows: "My command arrived here to-day and, finding General Neill here, I have encamped so as to render him all possible assistance till definite

instructions are sent to me. My command is an incoherent mass and, if it is to join the Army of the Potomac, I would suggest that the brigades, five in number, be attached to old divisions, and thus disperse the greenness. They cannot be maneuvered, and as a command is quite helpless, excepting in the kind of duty I have kept them on in the mountains. I have here about four thousand men, and I suppose two thousand have straggled away since we left Carlisle. General Knipe is the only one I have with me who is at all serviceable, and he is anxious to get back to his own brigade in the XIIth Corps [of General Slocum's command]. I am utterly powerless, without aid and in the short time allotted, to infuse any discipline into these troops, and for the reasons given above make the suggestion as being for the best interests of the service."[54] No experienced officer had any desire for such recruits in his command, particularly for short service enlistments, excepting from necessity for filling his ranks depleted by battle, expiration of term of enlistment, or chronic disability; but such necessity was of frequent occurrence during the Civil War.

General Slocum crossed South Mountain July 9th through Crampton's Pass, and dispatched the crude force of Pennsylvania Militia northward as desired. The men of Slocum's command were all deeply interested in the Pass here so signally cleared of the invading enemy the previous year, by some of their number now present, and their commander. Encampment was made for the night at Rohrersville. July 10th the march led through Keedysville, and through the Antietam Battle-field, to Bakersville, where cavalry pickets of the enemy were met. Line of battle was here formed, skirmishers were advanced, and the enemy retreated before them. The next day the march was through the Village of Fair Play and to Jones' Cross Roads, evidently not far from the main body of the escaping foe. The position Slocum was here ordered to take, he reported to Meade as wholly untenable, as being commanded by the enemy from heights in two positions then occupied by the Confederates who were liable to cut off Slocum's trains. He was then given permission to change his position as thought by him best. July 12th and 13th were passed in endeavor to definitely locate the foe, he then being somewhere beyond Marsh Run, the low, broad banks

of which were now covered by water from the recent heavy rains. The 12th of July, a part of Slocum's IInd Division of the XIIth Corps had a skirmish with the foe and captured one hundred and ten prisoners. All of Slocum's men were here, as ever elsewhere, ready for more active work. They were now in the vicinity of Williamsport, Maryland, and of the enemy who desired to cross the Potomac River at this point.

Meade now called his corps commanders to a council, which he opened with the statement that he had no definite knowledge of the position of the enemy; and then he asked his generals, "Shall we, without further knowledge of the position of the enemy, make an attack?" To this question Generals Howard, Pleasonton, and Wadsworth answered in the affirmative; and Generals Sedgwick, Slocum, Sykes, French and Hays answered in the negative, they desiring further information. Meade then made general remarks about the necessity of doing something, and all seconded such effort. A reconnoissance in force was ordered for 7 o'clock the next morning, July 14th, all to be in readiness for a general engagement with the enemy. Reconnoissances were made in the meantime and the enemy's hastily formed intrenchments were examined in outline.

General Slocum's Ist Division of the XIIth Corps advanced at an early hour next morning to open the battle. Meeting no opposition, his men moved into the enemy's position of the evening before, finding only the enemy's trail leading to the Potomac River, across which he had escaped into Virginia.

The XIIth Corps was reinforced July 14th by the 142nd New York Regiment, and the 177th Pennsylvania, volunteers. The next day all of Slocum's men marched to Sandy Hook near Harper's Ferry, with orders for clothing and other supplies. This necessary work required three days.

Slocum marched his command July 19th across the Potomac by pontoon bridge at Harper's Ferry, and through Loudoun Valley to the vicinity of Hillsborough, where it encamped for the night. His XIIth Corps was attacked this day by a detachment of the enemy's cavalry which escaped without doing or receiving much harm. The IInd Corps, however, being somewhat separated from Slocum at this time, lost some men as prisoners with the enemy.

The march was resumed to Snickersville, and Slocum there guarded Snicker's Gap through the Blue Ridge Mountains until the 23rd, when he marched to Ashby's Gap to remain over night; but at four o'clock in the afternoon order came to move forward to Markham's Station, near Manassas Gap, where they arrived late at night. At three in the morning the command moved through Markham to Linden. At midday Slocum was directed to return through Markham, and to encamp at Piedmont. This countermarch was due to the activity of the enemy to gain advantage of the closely following pursuers. Slocum's command was subjected to great fatigue by the long and late marches with condition of constant preparedness for action against the enemy. Straggling or disorder of any kind was not permissible at any time, however, and what little there was occasionally, received severe punishment if done when the enemy was near. Complaint was made at this time to General Geary of Slocum's IInd division, that two of his men had entered a lone woman's house and carried away bedding, wearing apparel, and other articles not allowable in the regulations for foraging. Reparation was made as far as possible, and the thieves were entered upon the roster as dismissed in disgrace; and they were drummed out of camp by their former comrades with the rogues' march.[56]

General Slocum's march July 25th led through Rectortown and White Plains to Thoroughfare Gap, and the next day through Greenwich and Catlett's Station to Warrenton Junction.

The march was continued July 31st to Kelly's Ford of the Rappahannock River, where General Slocum positioned the most part of his XIIth Corps out of sight of the enemy, and sent the IIIrd Brigade of his IInd Division of this corps to Ellis Ford below to take similar position. Discovering a detachment of North Carolina Cavalry across the river at Kelly's Ford, Slocum sent the 66th Ohio Regiment of Infantry across in boats and the enemy was scattered. He then protected the Union engineers while they built a bridge at this Ford.

Another order from the general commanding directed Slocum to hold the Rappahannock against the enemy from Wheatley's Ford to Ellis' Ford with his XIIth Corps and with the IInd Corps which was yet under his command.

In the official account of the Organization of the Army of the Potomac July 31, 1863, General Slocum's XIIth Corps is recorded as follows:

Major-General Henry W. Slocum's Headquarters, with escort of the 10th Maine Regiment (four companies), Captain John D. Beardsley.

First Division, Brigadier-General Alpheus S. Williams; First Brigade, Brigadier-General Joseph F. Knipe, with the following Regiments: 5th Connecticut, Colonel Warren W. Packer; 20th Connecticut, Colonel Samuel Ross; 3rd Maryland, Colonel Joseph M. Sudsburg; 123rd New York, Colonel Archibald L. McDougall; 145th New York, Colonel Edward L. Price; and the 46th Pennsylvania, Colonel James L. Selfridge. Brigadier-General H. H. Lockwood's brigade joined this Division July 2nd, and was assigned as the Second Brigade. On July 19th General Lockwood, with the Maryland regiments of his brigade, was transferred to Harper's Ferry. Third Brigade, Brigadier-General Thomas H. Ruger, with the following regiments: 27th Indiana, Colonel Silas Colgrove; 2nd Massachusetts, Colonel William Cogswell; 13th New Jersey, Lieutenant-Colonel John Grimes; 107th New York, Colonel Nirom M. Crane; 150th New York, Colonel John H. Ketcham; and the 3rd Wisconsin, Colonel William Hawley.

Second Division, Brigadier-General John W. Geary; First Brigade, Colonel Charles Candy, with the following regiments: 5th Ohio, Major Henry E. Symmes; 7th Ohio, Colonel William R. Creighton; 29th Ohio, Colonel William T. Fitch; 66th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene Powell; 28th Pennsylvania, Captain John Flynn; and the 147th Pennsylvania, Major John Craig. Second Brigade, Colonel George A. Cobham, Jr.; with the following regiments: 29th Pennsylvania, Colonel William Richards, Jr.; 109th Pennsylvania, Major John A. Boyle; and the 111th Pennsylvania, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas M. Walker. Third Brigade, Brigadier-General George S. Greene, with the following regiments: 60th New York, Colonel Abel Godard; 78th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert von Hammerstein; 102nd New York, Major Gilbert M. Elliott; 137th New York, Colonel David Ireland, and the 149th New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert S. Van Voorhes.

Artillery Brigade, Captain John D. Woodbury; with the First New York Light, Battery M, Lieutenant Charles E. Winegar; Pennsylvania Light, Battery E, Captain Charles A. Atwell; Fourth United States, Battery F, Lieutenant Edward D. Muhlenberg; and the Fifth United States, Battery K, Lieutenant David H. Kinzie.

This report was abstracted as a tri-monthly return as follows: Present for duty July 31st, officers, 445; enlisted men, 7,328; aggregate present, 8,950; infantry officers, 412; enlisted men, 6,925; artillery officers, 12; enlisted men, 370 and 20 pieces of artillery.

These reports show the sad depletion of General Slocum's command by battle, expiration of term of enlistment, and by detachment for special service, the latter being a great compli-

ment to his discipline. The general reported the command in good condition excepting shortage of artillery horses notwithstanding great effort to supply the need.

The IInd Corps, under Slocum during Lee's retreat from Gettysburg, was yet with (near) the XIIth Corps at Kelly's Ford with an effective force of 8,263 including officers.

CHAPTER XXI

The Rappahannock. New York Draft Riots

Two Confederate deserters were brought before General Slocum's Assistant Adjutant-General August 2nd, they having been sent by Slocum's General Geary stationed at Ellis' Ford. They reported two regiments of Confederate cavalry and four cannon at Ely's Ford six miles down the Rappahannock from Ellis' Ford.

On August 3rd Meade reported to Slocum, and other corps commanders, that the enemy was along Mountain Run, with Lee's headquarters at Stevensburg, a few miles from Culpeper. The same day dispatches were sent to the same commanders that the enemy was moving southward toward Orange Court House, also stating that the bridge held by Slocum at Kelly's Ford might be needed at any moment to carry across Slocum's command, the XIIth and IInd Corps, to pursue the enemy; and that provision should be made to protect the bridge after its present use.

General Slocum crossed the Rappahannock the 3rd and 4th of August; and his orders became strict that no one should be permitted to pass through his lines without his written permission. This order caused some complaint from part of Pleasonton's free-riding cavalry.

General James B. Gordon's division, recently under General Slocum, but now in the XIth Corps, was detached August 5th and sent to Morris Island, South Carolina, by way of Alexandria, and an ocean transport. There had been not a little dissatisfaction among the subordinate officers of the XIth Corps since the routing it received from the enemy at Chancellorsville, and particularly after its first day's sad experience at Gettys-

burg, both of which reverses had given the corps a bad reputation, probably unjustly as the reflection was mainly on the large number of Germans in the corps, who were brave men. A few days before this date, August 5th, it seemed probable that the three divisions of the XIth would be divided among the other corps, Gordon, and a goodly part of the other disaffected troops, desiring to go with Slocum's corps. General Oliver O. Howard, commander of the XIth Corps, was favorable to any disposition of his men that the authorities at Washington thought best. This kindly disposition of Howard won for him friends, and the corps name with its commander was retained, and its quota was soon filled with other troops for service in Tennessee.

General Slocum's XIIth Corps had present, August 8th, on special duty, 31 officers, and 787 enlisted men. The part within the Army of the Potomac numbered 95 officers and 1,102 enlisted men. Temporarily out side of this army, 54 officers and 286 men on duty; with leave of absence 24 officers and 332 men. The sick and those with wounds at this time numbered 118 officers and 3,450 men. There were also, absent without leave 4 officers and 214 men. Of officers absent without leave, other corps records showed at this time 16, 18, 20, 25, 27 and 33 of officers, respectively; and of enlisted men absent without leave, 471, 306, 604, 629, 483 and 402.[55] These figures speak well for Slocum's hold upon his men, notwithstanding his most strict discipline.

The Army Union Signal Station reported August 10th, that the enemy's camp smoke was plainly visible, and it extended from the vicinity of Raccoon Ford of the Rapidan River due south from Watery Mountain, the principal number being east of Clark's, and Pony Mountain, south of Stevensburg and between Culpeper and Raccoon Ford.

The Abstract from the Tri-monthly return of the Army of the Potomac for August, showed Slocum's XIIth Corps to number, as present for duty, 404 officers, and 7,125 enlisted men, the aggregate of those present being 8,887. Of infantry present equipped for duty there were 369 officers and 6,735 enlisted men; artillery, 11 officers and 361 men, with 20 cannon. Aggregate present and absent, 14,477.

The enemy captured a Union wagon train near Annondale,

Virginia, August 11th, and he was otherways seeking in every direction to harass the Union forces, particularly those nearest Washington, hoping thereby to call the Union troops northward.

At this time there came indications of a change in the Army of the Potomac, and in the Confederate Army of Virginia as well, on account of reverses on each side in the Department of the Tennessee, and threatened draft riots in New York City. General Meade was called to Washington to aid in the consideration of these questions and, before starting, he called General Slocum to remain at the headquarters of the army during his absence. Slocum placed General A. S. Williams, commander of the Ist Division of the XIIth Corps, in charge of his command and, August 13th, the day of Meade's call, Slocum took charge of the Army Headquarters, the exact situation of which it was not permissible to mention in writing when the army was in the field.

The next day there were Union scouting expeditions among the Blue Ridge Mountains west of Bull Run, Virginia, and to Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley. The enemy's Vine Tree Signal Station was captured this day. At seven P. M. a division of the Vth Corps, and the Vermont Brigade of the VIth Corps, were ordered to Alexandria by railway from Warrenton Junction.

General Pleasonton of the Cavalry Corps reported August 14th regarding certain reported movements of the enemy, and asked for important changes of position of the Union Cavalry, and of other corps. Slocum, as temporary commander of the Army, would not sanction the proposed changes of the several corps, and of the cavalry only in part, with statement that readiness to meet emergency should constantly be maintained. General Humphreys, Chief of Staff, was directed to so report to Pleasonton.

The enemy became even more active in his expeditions; and more troops were dispatched to Alexandria, a part of the command of General Ruger of Slocum's corps being among the number. Then followed a Union scouting party from Centerville to Aldie, Virginia, continuing until the 19th of August.

General Meade returned from Washington August 15th, and General Slocum then returned to his headquarters of the XIIth Corps.

It had been found necessary to fill the quota of soldiers required from New York City by draft. The work of conscription was interfered with, and soon stopped, by riotous opposition, a mob holding control of the city several days late in July. It was decided by the Department of War to send troops to that city from the Army of the Potomac, to protect the officers while completing the draft. August 16th about 10,000 troops, including those of Slocum's command under his General Thomas H. Ruger then at Alexandria, went aboard of ocean transports for New York City. General Slocum's troops for this important expedition were composed of the following regiments: The 14th and 27th Indiana; 2nd Massachusetts; 5th Michigan; the 4th, 5th, 7th, 29th, 66th, and 126 Ohio; and the 3rd Wisconsin. General Meade wrote to H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief, Washington, that he had sent his best troops, and some of his best officers.

General Ruger reported to Brigadier-General Edward R. S. Canby, at the United States Military Station on Governor's Island, New York Harbor, and he was assigned to the command of Canby's IInd Brigade composed mostly of Slocum's men. General Canby issued a circular from his headquarters of United States troops in New York City and Harbor, August 17th, containing excellently worded instructions to officers and their troops, and as notification to the citizens also, well calculated to protect all orderly and well-meaning citizens and soldiers alike. The first paragraph of this circular reads, that: "The duties of these troops are limited to the defense of the forts and the protection of public property, and of the officers of the General Government in the performance of their legal duties. The duty of maintaining order, and protecting the properties and rights of private individuals, devolves upon the municipal and State authorities, but the troops of the United States will be held in readiness to render any assistance that may be called for by proper authority, or be rendered necessary by the inability of the civil authorities to accomplish these ends."

The presence of these troops had the desired effect. The conscription proceeded along the Hudson River as well, part of Slocum's men attending the draftings at Kingston, and elsewhere; and good order was maintained without bloodshed. The

troops enjoyed the pleasant excursion, and were returned to their corps at Kelly's Ford of the Rappahannock the evening of September 12th.

Major-General G. K. Warren succeeded Brigadier-General William Hays August 16th in command of the IInd Corps. The 20th of August, Warren reported to General Pleasonton of the cavalry, that the enemy was in large force opposite the United States Ford of the Rappahannock, and that is was believed that 'our army' was retiring on Centerville or Washington—this rumor arising from the sending of part of Slocum's troops, with a few others, to Alexandria for New York City. This report was sent to Meade's headquarters, and thence to General Slocum.

During the long continued, monotonous, and tiresome picket line duty, many enlisted men became tired of army life, and an occasional desertion was reported. Two deserters from Slocum's IInd Division were captured and, after due military trial, they were convicted of the crime, and sentenced to death from the guns of their comrades. Unfortunately the aim of the first firing squad was not direct and steady, and it was necessary to call forward the reserve squad to complete the penalty. August 18th Slocum's IInd Division was again paraded, by its General Geary, to attend like execution of a young Maryland deserter; also on the 25th for like execution of a soldier of the 145th New York Regiment of Volunteers for the same crime.

The Confederate cavalry continued very active, and small detachments occasionally made long detours. Unfortunately the Union picket lines occasionally showed gaps of as many as four miles, from the commanding general withdrawing troops, which permitted the watchful enemy to pass through unmolested; and much work was required thereby of the Union cavalry to prevent the marauders doing great harm. August 22nd there was a skirmish with such marauders at Stafford Court House, and the next day another at Coyle's Tavern near Fairfax Court House; also another the next day at Hartwood Church toward Kelly's Ford.

CHAPTER XXII

Gettysburg Reports. Letters. Criticisms

The official reports of the Battle of Gettysburg were variable. The report of General Slocum regarding the battle, and of his part in the pursuit of the enemy, is placed in this connection as most likely to interest the general reader. It is like all of his expressions, very modest. There is nothing therein of the carping or faultfinding spirit; nothing reflecting seriously on his commanding general—there were numerous others to do this—and nothing but praise for the officers and men of his command, for all had been apt pupils of his discipline and requirements. He did not even offer any criticism of Meade's dilatory march after the retreating enemy—obeying his orders, as was his duty to do, even when he thought that something different would be better. He was a deep and, so far as possible, a practical sympathizer with the soldiers of his command. His report refers to their fatiguing duties, fulfilled uncomplainingly, and it refers more regretfully to their short rations, namely:

Report of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum, U. S. Army, commanding Twelfth Army Corps.

Hdqrs. Twelfth Corps, Army of the Potomac,
August 23, 1863.

General: I have the honor of submitting the following report of the operations of the Twelfth Corps, and such other troops as were placed under my command, between June 28 and July 26:

The Twelfth Corps was at Knoxville, Md., on the morning of June 28, from which place it marched at 6 A. M., and arrived near Frederick City at 2 P. M. of the same day.

The march was resumed at 7 A. M. on the following day, and although nearly the entire army was obliged to move through the city in its march northward, and great delay was necessarily caused by the obstruction of the roads by baggage-wagons, &c., still the corps marched 23 miles, performing most of it during a heavy rain-storm.

On the 30th the march was resumed at 5 A. M., and the corps encamped for the night about 1 mile beyond Littlestown, Pa., on the road leading from that place to Hanover.

On the morning of July 1, the corps was moved to Two Taverns, and remained at that place until information was received that the First and Eleventh Corps were engaged at Gettysburg, when the march was at once resumed, and, agreeably to suggestion from General Howard, the First Division was put in position on the right of our line, near Rock Creek. The

Second Division was moved forward as rapidly as possible, and placed, pursuant to orders from General Hancock, on the extreme left of the line.

The corps remained in this position until the following morning, when, by direction of the commanding general [George G. Meade], the Second Division was moved to the right of our center, and placed in the woods east of the turnpike, between Rock Creek and the crest of the hill held by our troops under Brigadier-General Wadsworth.

The Fifth Corps [also under command of General Slocum] arrived at 5 A. M. on July 2, and, by direction of the commanding general, was placed in line on the right of the Twelfth Corps.

At about 8 A. M. this corps (the Fifth) and the First Division of the Twelfth Corps were moved to the left and across Rock Creek, the First Division taking position on the right of the Second, with its right resting on the creek. (See map annexed).

As soon as the corps was established on its new line, a strong force was detailed for the construction of breastworks and abatis, which subsequently proved of great value, as they enabled us at a critical moment to detach portions of the command to other points of the line. The Fifth Corps was massed between the exreme right and left of the line occupied by the army, and held in readiness to move to the support of any part of the line. About half an hour before the attack on our left, this corps (the Fifth) was moved by order of the commanding general to the support of that part of the line. This attack was made by the enemy in strong force, and with great spirit and determination. Had it been successful, the result would have been terribly disastrous to our army and to the country. The arrival of the Fifth Corps at the point of attack at so critical a moment afforded it an opportunity of doing service for the country the value of which can never be overestimated. Of the manner in which this opportunity was improved, I need not speak. The long list of its killed and wounded attests more clearly than language can the valor of its officers and men.

As soon as the attack on our left was commenced, the First Division and two brigades of the Second Division, Twelfth Corps, were ordered to that part of the line. The First Division moved at once, and arrived in time to assist in repelling the assault. The two brigades of the Second Division under Brigadier-General Geary, by some unfortunate and unaccountable mistake, did not follow the First Division, but took the road leading to Two Taverns, crossing Rock Creek. Immediately after the First Division and the two brigades of the Second Division had moved from their intrenchments, the enemy attacked the remaining brigade of the corps left to hold the line. This brigade was under command of Brigadier-General Greene, and the attack commenced before he had succeeded in extending his command so as to occupy the part of the line previously occupied by the troops sent to the support of our left. Although General Greene handled his command with great skill, and although his men fought with gallantry never surpassed by any troops under my command, the enemy succeeded in gaining possession of a portion of our intrenchments.

After a severe engagement of nearly three hours duration, General Greene remained in possession of the left of our line of works, while the right, which had previously been held by the First Division, was in possession of the enemy. During this engagement, General Greene was re-enforced by three regiments from the First Corps, and three from the Eleventh Corps, all of which did good service. Immediately after the repulse of the enemy on the left, the First Division was ordered to return to its position on the right, and General Geary, with the two other brigades of the Second Division, was ordered back to his original position. It was nearly midnight before this movement was fully completed.

Orders were at once issued for an attack at daybreak, for the purpose of regaining that portion of the line which had been lost. The artillery of the Twelfth Corps, consisting of Battery F, Fourth U. S. Artillery; Battery K, Fifth U. S. Artillery; Battery M, First New York, and Knap's Pennsylvania battery, was placed in position during the night by Lieutenant-Colonel Best, and opened the battle at 4 A. M. on the following morning, and during the entire engagement all these batteries rendered most valuable aid to our cause.

The enemy had been re-enforced during the night, and were fully prepared to resist our attack. The force opposed to us, it is said, belonged to the corps under General Ewell, formerly under General Jackson, and they certainly fought with a determination and valor which has ever characterized the troops of this well-known corps. We were re-enforced during the engagement by Shaler's brigade, of the Sixth Corps, and by two regiments from General Wadsworth's division, of the First Corps, and also by Neill's brigade, of the Sixth Corps, which was moved across Rock Creek, and placed in position to protect our extreme right. All these troops did excellent service.

The engagement continued until 10.30 A. M., and resulted in our regaining possession of our entire line of intrenchments and driving the enemy back of the position originally held by him; and in capture of over 500 prisoners in addition to the large number of wounded left on the field, besides several thousand stand of arms and three stand of colors. Our own loss of killed and wounded was comparatively light, as most of our troops were protected by breastworks.

The portion of the field occupied by the enemy presented abundant evidence of the bravery and determination with which the conflict was waged. The field of battle at this point was not as extended as that on the left of our line, nor was the force engaged as heavy as that brought into action on that part of the line. Yet General Geary states that over 900 of the enemy's dead were buried by our own troops and a large number left unburied, marching orders having been received before the work was completed.

Soon after the repulse of the enemy at this point, he opened from his entire line the severest artillery fire that I have ever witnessed. The losses of the Twelfth Corps from this fire were however, light, and when the

fire ceased, and was followed by an assault from his infantry on the left of the line, the entire command was in readiness to move to the support of our troops at that point. The First Division was moved, and reached the scene of conflict in time to have rendered assistance if required. They were not, however, called into action, the enemy being driven from the field by the troops already in position.

On the following morning, July 4, I moved forward with one brigade (General Ruger's), and found the enemy had retired from our immediate front.

The next day the Twelfth Corps marched to Littlestown.

On July 7th, the march was resumed at 4 A. M., and although many of the men were destitute of shoes, and all greatly fatigued by the labor and anxiety of a severely contested battle, as well as by the heavy marches which had preceded it, still, a march of 29 miles was made this day.

On the following day the command passed through Frederick, and halted for the night near Jefferson.

On the 9th we crossed South Mountain at Crampton's Pass, and encamped near Rohrersville.

On the 10th we marched to Bakersville, and on the 11th to Fair Play.

The 12th and 13th were spent in endeavoring to ascertain the position of the enemy in our front, which we found great difficulty in accomplishing. Marsh Run extended along the position held by the enemy in our front, and at this time it was passable only at the bridges, the heavy rains having raised the water much beyond its usual depth, and caused it to overrun the marsh land in our front.

During the night of the 13th, the enemy recrossed the Potomac.

On the 15th, I marched the command to Sandy Hook, near Harper's Ferry, with orders to procure clothing and other supplies as soon as possible, and hold it in readiness to cross the river.

Three days were spent in procuring supplies, and on the 19th the corps crossed the river, and encamped for the night near Hillsborough.

On the following day the command marched to Snickersville, and remained there, guarding the pass in the Blue Ridge, until the 23d, when it was moved to Ashby's Gap, at which point it arrived at 2 p. m., and made preparations to encamp for the night; but at 4 P. M. I received orders to move forward at once to Markham's Station, near Manassas Gap, and the march was immediately resumed, the troops arriving near the station late at night.

At 3 A. M. on the 24th marched through Markham to Linden. At 12 M. on the same day returned, via Markham, and encamped at Piedmont.

On the 25th, marched to Thoroughfare Gap, and on the 26th to Warrenton Junction.

The enemy commenced the movement toward Pennsylvania early in the month of June. My command left its camp near Aquia Creek on the 13th of the same month. From that day until its arrival at Warrenton Junction, on July 26, it was constantly engaged in services of the most fatigueing

nature. Marches of from 25 to 30 miles per day were frequently performed. We were constantly in the presence of the enemy, and even while remaining in camp for a day or two, nothing like rest or relaxation from care and anxiety was known.

The complete ration allowed the soldier was not issued to him a single day during the entire campaign. It cannot be surprising that, under these circumstances, officers as well as men were greatly exhausted on our arrival at Warrenton.

The conduct of the entire command during this campaign was such as entitles it to the gratitude of the country, and justifies me in the indulgence of a deep and heartfelt pride in my connection with it. At Gettysburg, when we were brought into conflict with the entire force of the enemy, although every one felt convinced that we were greatly his inferior in point of numbers, yet all seemed to realize the vast responsibility thrown upon our army and the fearful consequence which must result from our defeat, and every one was nerved to the task, and entered upon the duties devolving upon him with a spirit worthy of the highest praise. Their confidence in the final result of this important battle was greatly increased by the fact, which soon became apparent to all, that in this battle, at least, all our forces were to be used; that a large portion of the army were not to remain idle while the enemy's masses were being hurled against another portion.

My own corps during this conflict was moved from one point of the line to another, and all of those thus moved had the satisfaction of knowing that, where the battle was waged by the enemy with the greatest fury, there our troops were concentrated, ready and eager to meet them.

My staff officers discharged their duties during the campaign to my entire satisfaction. Supplies were furnished by all the different departments as liberally and with as little delay as could have been anticipated under the circumstances.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Slocum,
Major-General of Volunteers, commanding.

Brig. Gen. S. Williams,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Army of the Potomac.[57]

General Meade's report of the Battle of Gettysburg was not received by Slocum until after his transfer to the Army of the Cumberland; and so many of his subordinate officers were making so many complaints of its errors of omission and of commission, that he felt compelled to write to Meade for their correction. This letter entered into the Official Records as an Addenda. General Meade replied in an apparent spirit of justice in some particulars, without committing himself to a full redress. General Slocum's letter reads as follows:

ADDENDA.

Hdqrs. Twelfth Corps, Army of the Cumberland,
Tullahoma, Tenn., December 30, 1863.

MAJ. GEN. GEORGE G. MEADE,

Commanding Army of the Potomac.

GENERAL: I inclose herewith the report of General T. H. Ruger of operations of the First Division, Twelfth Corps, at the battle of Gettysburg, together with the report of his brigade and regimental commanders. General Ruger, with a large portion of his division, was ordered to New York City soon after the battle [to quell riots there], and immediately after his return from New York the corps was ordered to this department. The report of General Williams and myself were delayed with the hope of receiving General Ruger's report in time to forward with them.

I deeply regret the necessity which compelled me to send my report and that of General Williams unaccompanied by any report of the operations of the First Division, for although an account of the operations of this division was given in the report of General Williams, who commanded the corps during the battle, I think the absence of Ruger's report may account for some of the errors contained in your report as to the operations of the Twelfth Corps.

I inclose a letter from General Williams, calling my attention to these errors, to which I respectfully invite your attention, and if anything can be done at this late day to correct these errors, I trust you will do it. Your report is the official history of that important battle, and to this report reference will always be made by our government, our people, and the historian, as the most reliable and accurate account of the services performed by each corps, division and brigade of your army. If you have inadvertently given to one division the credit of having performed some meritorious service which was in reality performed by another division, you do an injustice to brave men and defraud them of well-earned laurels. It is an injustice which even time cannot correct. That errors of this nature exist in your official report is an indisputable fact.

You give great credit to Lockwood's brigade for services on the evening of July 2, but state that his brigade was a portion of the First Corps, while it never at any time belonged to that corps, but was a portion of the Twelfth Corps, and was accompanied in its operations on the evening of July 2 by General Williams in person. A portion of this brigade (the One hundred and fiftieth New York) is still in General Williams' division.

I copy the following statement from your report:

> During the heavy assault on our left, portions of the Twelfth Corps were sent as re-enforcements. During their absence, the line on the extreme right was held by a very much reduced force. This was taken advantage of by the enemy, who, during the absence of General Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps advanced and occupied part of the line. On the morning of the 3rd, General Geary, having returned during the night, attacked at early dawn the enemy, and succeeded in driving him back and reoccupying his former position. A spirited contest was maintained all the morning along this part of the line. General Geary, re-enforced by Wheaton's brigade of the Sixth Corps, maintained his position, and inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

From this statement it would appear that Geary's division marched to the support of your left; that Williams' division did not; that his (Williams') division, or a portion of it, was guarding the intrenchments when the enemy gained possession; that General Geary returned, and with his division drove the enemy back; that the engagement on the following morning was fought by Geary's division, assisted by Wheaton's brigade. This I know is the inference drawn from your history of those operations by every person unacquainted with the truth. Yet the facts in the case are very nearly the reverse of the above in every particular, and directly in contradiction to the facts as set forth in the report of General Geary, as well as that of General Williams. Geary's division did not march even in the direction of your left. Two of his brigades, under his immediate command, left the intrenchments under orders to move to the support of your left, but through some unfortunate mistake he took the road leading to Two Taverns. Williams' entire division did move to the support of your left, and it was one of his brigades (Lockwood's) under his immediate command, which you commend, but very singularly accredit to the First Corps.

Greene's brigade, of the Second Division, remained in the intrenchments, and the failure of the enemy to gain entire possession of our works was due entirely to the skill of General Greene and the heroic valor of his troops. His brigade suffered severely, but maintained its position, and held the enemy in check until the return of Williams' division. The 'Spirited contest maintained by General Geary, re-enforced by Wheaton's brigade,' was a contest for regaining the portion of our intrenchments held by the enemy, and was conducted under the immediate command of General Williams, and was participated in by the entire Twelfth Corps, re-enforced not by Wheaton's but by Shaler's brigade.

Although the command of the Twelfth Corps was given temporarily to General Williams by your order, and although you directed him to meet at the council with other corps commanders, you fail to mention his name in your entire report, and in no place allude to his having any such command, or to the fact that more than one corps was at any time placed under my command, although at no time after you assumed command of the army until the close of this battle was I in command of less than two corps. I have now in my possession your written orders, dated July 2, directing me to assume command of the Sixth Corps, and, with that corps and the two then under my command (the Fifth and Twelfth), to move forward and at once attack the enemy.

I allude to this fact for the purpose of refreshing your memory on a subject which you had apparently entirely forgotten when you penned your report, for you have not failed to notice the fact of General Schurz and others having held, even for a few hours, commands above that previously held by them. I sincerely trust that you will endeavor to correct as far as possible the errors above mentioned, and that the correction may be recorded at the War Department.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Slocum, Major-General of Volunteers, Commanding.[58]

At a memorial service held under the auspices of Rankin Post, No. 10, Grand Army of the Republic, at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York, April 29th, 1894, Major-General Oliver O. Howard spoke of Major-General Slocum in part as follows: "General Slocum's Gettysburg letter to General Meade in the interest of his [Slocum's] corps commander, General A. S. Williams, a letter demanding the correction of Meade's first report, is about the best literary production of the war. The whole letter is the key to General Slocum's character—strong, clear, incisive and absolutely truthful. That letter has become the history of Gettysburg from Culp's Hill to McAllister's Hill. To appreciate it fully one must know that rocky, rough, woody region which will ever be a rival of the jagged Round Tops and the death-dealing Devil's Den. But for Slocum the waters of the Rebellion would have passed around the heights, and the 'high-water mark' would not have been found on that Cemetery crest."

Yet later General Slocum wrote to his confidential correspondent at Syracuse, New York, Judge LeRoy H. Morgan, more sharply criticising Meade's continued shortcomings, and giving some true sidelights on several events of general historical interest. Just before this last letter there were several publications that appeared to emanate from Meade; and there were yet other intimations that Slocum construed as not justifiable and should not enter, or remain in history without being controverted. This letter reads as follows:

Headquarters Twelfth Corps, Army of the Cumberland,
Tullahoma, Tenn., January 2, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR:

I presume you have read Meade's Report of the Battle of Gettysburg. I can imagine the feeling its perusal has caused you. I have not met a sensible man who has read it, either soldier or civilian, who has not felt disappointed on reading it. It purports to be the official history of the most important contest of modern times—a contest in which our troops fought with a valor and determination never before exhibited—and the only evidence in the entire report which tends to prove this heroism is contained in the closing sentence, "our losses were very severe, amounting to 23,186." Your disappointment must have been greater from the fact that the true history of the operations on the right had already been made known to you by me, and Meade's report is a plain contradiction of almost every statement I have ever written to you. It is in direct conflict with my official

report, and the reports of all my subordinate commanders. My first impulse on reading his report was to ask for a court of inquiry. I was prompted to this course not so much from personal consideration, as from a desire to have justice done to General Williams and his division.

Although Meade professed the warmest friendship for me, and the utmost confidence in me, not only during the entire battle, but at all times subsequent to it while I remained in his army, yet in his report he utterly ignores me. That he did repose this confidence in me, and that he placed the right wing entirely under my control, I have abundant written evidence now in my possession. In proof of this I enclose a copy of an order sent me during the battle, showing that he had sent part of Sedgwick's corps to me, and that without visiting me or my portion of the line, he wished me to place it in a central position where he could use it as soon as I could spare it. I also enclose a copy of an order received at ten twenty A. M., July second, directing me to move from the strong position we then held, and with the Fifth and Twelfth Corps, then under my command, and the Sixth which was hourly expected, to attack the enemy. The latter order was not obeyed because every general officer consulted on the subject deemed it unwise to leave the almost impregnable position we then held.

I send you copies of these orders to convince you that although my name is not mentioned in the report, yet I really occupied the position and had the commands mentioned in my former letters. At no time was I in command of less than two corps during the entire campaign, and during all the battle the right wing was entrusted entirely to me—a position to which my rank entitled me. Williams commanded the Twelfth Corps, and was at all times during the battle treated as a corps commander by Meade. He was invited by him to the council with other corps commanders, and yet no mention is made of this fact in the report. Nor is Williams' name or that of his division to be found in it.

I finally gave up the idea of asking for a court of inquiry, knowing that the interest of the service could not be promoted by such course. I wrote a letter to Meade, however, asking him to correct his report, a copy of which I enclose.

There is much secret history connected with the Gettysburg campaign which will some day be made public. The proceedings of a secret council of the corps commanders held the night before the enemy crossd the river was at once divulged, and the remarks of Meade, Warren and Pleasonton published to the world in full. It was for the interest of Meade that this publication should be made; and there is no doubt that publicity was given to it with his consent, if not through his direct instrumentality. There were other councils, however, the proceedings of which were not made public and which never will be published with the consent of Meade.

On the evening of July second a council was called, and each corps commander was asked his opinion as to the propriety of falling back toward Washington that night. The majority opposed it, and after the vote was taken Meade declared that "Gettysburg was no place to risk a battle;" and

there is no doubt but for the decision of his corps commanders, the army on the third of July would have been in full retreat. The 4th of July, 1863, instead of being a day of rejoicing throughout the North, would have been the darkest day ever known to our country. This piece of history can be verified by the records of that council kept by Butterfield, and cannot have been forgotten by any officer present.

On the fourth of July nearly every corps commander urged an immediate movement, but my corps was kept three days in idleness. In the meantime the enemy reached Hagerstown, took up his new line, and had abundant time to fortify. At the council held on the thirteenth of July, by which "Meade was overruled," the following question was proposed to each officer, viz.: "Shall we, *without further knowledge of the position of the enemy*, make an attack?"

Previous to putting the question, Meade answered that he could get no knowledge of the position of the enemy. This announcement, together with the peculiar phraseology of the question, indicated the decision the commanding general anticipated. He offered no remarks until a vote was taken, and the question answered in the negative. He then made some general remarks about "the necessity of doing something," which was approved by all. Having 'placed himself right on record' as the politicians would say, he retired. This record he at once used to sustain himself at the expense of his brother officers, although the action of these officers was precisely what he desired and anticipated it would be when he framed the question.

You may think this a hard charge to bring against a soldier, but I believe I am fully justified in making it. There are circumstances which I will make known to you when we meet which will convince you that I have not done him injustice.

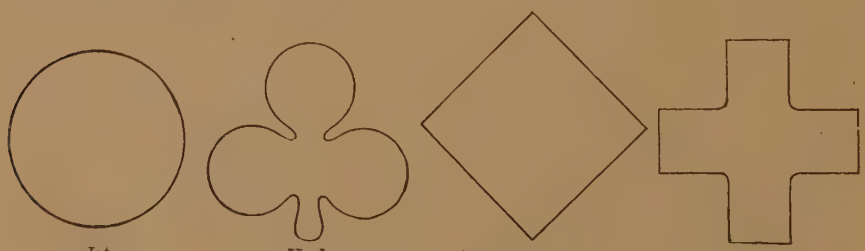
As long as this war continues I shall pursue the course I have thus far followed. I shall ask for no court, enter into no controversy, write no letters. But when the danger has passed from us many facts will come to light, giving to the public a better knowledge of the real history of this war than can be obtained through the medium of such reports as that written by General Meade.

Very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

H. W. SLOCUM.

HON. L. H. MORGAN, Syracuse, N. Y.



Army Corps Badges

CHAPTER XXIII

The Rapidan. Resignation. To Tennessee

General Slocum was called to Washington for consultation with the War Department August 31st. A change was about to occur that would take him to distant fields of action, and his absence from his command was prolonged for a short visit to his family. He returned to the front September 13th. During his absence the command of the XIIth Corps devolved again upon General A. S. Williams of the 1st Division.

Some pickets of Slocum's IInd Division were fired at by a small body of the enemy September 1st near Ellis's Ford. Help was rallied, and the enemy was driven away with loss to him. Generally the XIIth Corps had little other than quiet picket work during Slocum's absence.

General Kilpatrick crossed the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg September 1st; and the 13th General Pleasonton crossed at Kelly's and other fords, with most of the Union cavalry under Buford, Kilpatrick, and Gregg; and they pressed the Confederate cavalry, under Stuart, back to Brandy Station and Culpeper Court House, and thence across the Rapidan. Pleasonton's men captured three cannon and 120 prisoners. Otherwise the loss on both sides was small.

On September 14th the other corps commanders were notified of the successes of Pleasonton's Cavalry Corps, and they were also notified to be in readiness to advance and hold the position gained. The 16th Slocum advanced his XIIth Corps to Stevensburg, and thence to Raccoon Ford of the Rapidan, which he carefully examined, and it was found impracticable as a crossing, the approaches being marshy and the enemy commanding every approach in force. He passed down the river to Morton's Ford where, he thought, a crossing might be forced; but such crossing would result in much loss of life. Following the river, Slocum further reported that Stringfellow's Ford offered the most practicable crossing of all the fords examined.

Contrabands (negroes freed from slavery by the President's Emancipation Proclamation) flocked around Slocum, as usual, and from them, and from different other sources, he learned that the Confederate General Longstreet and his corps were sent to

Tennessee September 9th, indications of which action of the enemy had been noted as important, and making necessary for the sending of Union reinforcements to General Rosecrans commanding there.

The Signal Service of both armies was now more active in the region of the Rapidan and the heights nearby, at Pony Mountain and Clark's Mountain particularly. The movement of the enemy was reported, which led to a sharp skirmish the 19th near Raccoon Ford. An intercepted dispatch of the enemy indicated plans for an expedition, which caused General Meade to issue a circular to the Union corps commanders that, until further orders, their troops should carry in their knapsacks five days' bread and small rations, including salt, in addition to the subsistence stores they were required under existing orders to carry in their haversacks.

While being a strict disciplinarian, General Slocum was naturally kind and always disposed to look favorably upon every meritorious explanation or excuse for laxity or shortcomings. He was seldom disappointed in his estimate of men. When not overburdened with cares, or fatigue, he could be approached by any of his soldiers; and they found in him an ever open ear, and every practicable relief. Such statements unsolicited, have been brought to the writer by those who had been so befriended. The general, however, uniformly maintained the dignity of his rank as he saw it, and as he ever respected like dignity and self respect in others. The following story shows his treatment of a soldier who treated him indecorously: "About the middle of September the battalion broke camp and moved to the Rapidan River, near Raccoon Ford. While on this march an incident occurred which afforded much merriment for the officers and men attached to headquarters. General Slocum and staff had halted at a certain spot for lunch, when a lieutenant of the United States Artillery, slightly intoxicated, rode up to General Slocum, dismounted, threw his arms about the general's neck and exclaimed, 'Oh! Slocum! You're a hunky boy!' Such a breach of military discipline might not have been very remarkable in some of the armies, but it was an almost unheard of affair in the Army of the Potomac. It is needless to say that it was promptly punished by keeping the offending officer in arrest

until he amply apologized. The Lieutenant furnished the battalion with a phrase which the men delighted to repeat, not so much for the fun of the thing as for the completeness with which it expressed their feelings towards the general.''[59]

Meade reported to Washington September 22nd, the interception of a Confederate dispatch reporting a battle in Tennessee between Confederate General Bragg's command, and General Rosecrans' Union army, in which, the dispatch read, Bragg captured twenty cannon, and two thousand and five hundred prisoners. But the authorities at Washington had already heard of the Battle of Chickamauga, and they already realized that they had been too slow in reinforcing that field, and in several other particulars.

There being at this time no serious condition of affairs regarding the Army of the Potomac, it was decided to detach the XIth and XIIth Corps of this Army, and to send them to Tennessee as rapidly as possible.

The War Department called to Washington the head officers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company, and this company, also the Louisville and Nashville Railway Company, and their connecting lines through Indianapolis, gave up all other business for the transporting of these two army corps, their artillery, horses, ambulances, and army wagons, to the relief of General Rosecrans. All of these railways and their equipment during this work were taken under military surveillance and dictation.

When the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac was called on to detach General Slocum and his corps for this journey, he replied by telegram to Halleck that they were on duty in front of the enemy and could not be withdrawn and gotten ready for the journey in the time named. On September 24th, however, Meade notified Slocum that his corps would be relieved by the Ist Corps, and that he should march his command to Brandy Station where trains would be found in readiness for him.

By Special Orders of the War Department, Major-General Joseph Hooker was assigned to the command of the XIth and XIIth Corps, September 24th. At ten P. M. of this day, Hooker addressed a letter to Slocum regarding the movement of his command. This letter was received by Slocum the next day a

little before noon. He made no reply to Hooker; but he immediately wrote and dispatched the following letter instead:

Brandy Station, September 25, 1863.

His Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
President of the United States.

SIR: I have just been informed that I have been placed under command of Major-General Joseph Hooker. My opinion of General Hooker both as an officer and a gentleman is too well known to make it necessary for me to refer to it in this communication. The public service cannot be promoted by placing under his command an officer who has so little confidence in his ability as I have. Our relations are such that it would be degrading in me to accept any position under him. I have therefore to respectfully tender the resignation of my commission as Major-General of Volunteers. Very respectively, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General of Volunteers.[60]

President Lincoln would not accept General Slocum's resignation; and they compromised the delicate situation so that he would be separated from Hooker. Slocum was further assured that other arrangements would be made as soon as practicable to his entire satisfaction.

Slocum and his corps met the appointment at Brandy Station September 25th. He here received dispatch from Meade stating that cars could not be there this day as desired and, inasmuch as the movement of his troops had been seen by the enemy, he should that evening march to Bealeton Station, and there secret his troops from the observation of the enemy's signal station on Clark's Mountain. This command was reported to the railway officials, accordingly, that Slocum was at Bealeton Station with 280 horses, and that ten cars would be required for baggage. On the twenty-seventh Slocum was requested by the authority at Washington to designate an officer to remain there until October 5th, to take charge of all officers and men of the XIth and XIIth Corps returning from furloughs, or exchanged with the enemy, also the recovered sick, and stragglers, and to go with them to rejoin their commands. Notice was, thereupon, inserted in the Washington daily newspapers for such soldiers to report to the officer detailed by Slocum.

The railway official at Bealeton reported to the Honorable E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War that, at 9.35 P. M. of the 27th

he had on cars all of General Slocum's men at that place excepting 3,300. At 11.35 P. M. of the same day it was reported from the Alexandria station that Slocum's artillery arm would march to Washington, and there take the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

General Slocum kept near his men on this long military journey. He would pass on ahead to be present at each important point and to personally note the condition of affairs generally on the arrival of the troops. The only conveyances that could be provided for most of the rank and file by the railway companies, consisted of the ordinary freight cars of the box type, with plain boards across for seats. The Baltimore and Ohio Company made liberal openings along the sides for light and open air.

At Benwood, West Virginia, the troops made their first change of cars. They walked over a pontoon bridge prepared for them across the Ohio River at this place. General Slocum was there to receive them, to see them safely across and that their wants were fully met there, and for further progress. He was enthusiastically received by his men on all such occasions. To his general question, 'how are you standing the journey?' one Indianian replied, 'we would feel better about passing through Indiana if we had some money.' Upon further inquiry Slocum learned that the 27th Indiana Regiment had not received any money recently; and he promised to hasten payment. That evening Colonel Silas Colgrove, of this regiment, was informed that his men would receive their pay that night at Zanesville, Ohio; and they were kept awake most of the night by the paymasters. General Slocum also arranged for the Indiana men to remain one day at Indianapolis to meet their friends who were informed of their coming. At another station, Slocum was politely approached by a young soldier who desired a furlough for one day that he might stop off at his home town. A little inquiry elicited the fact that this soldier had been constantly in service more than two years. Slocum told him that he could not give anyone a furlough at this time; and he then proceeded to give the young man all the comfort he could, by saying to him: "If I had served in your regiment over two years without being home once, or absent from duty a single day, and was passing through my own home town, I would certainly stop for just a little while on my own responsibility. And I will say this

much, if you conclude to do so, and should get into trouble over it, I will do all I can to help you out.''[61] This soldier made a short visit to his home, and reported for further service in good time.

As usual on public occasions, and particularly when public servants need food and cheer, numerous ladies, both young and old, greeted the soldiers at every stopping place, and their presence, with fruit and various other articles of food, patriotic songs, and other words of cheer, greatly relieved the monotony and fatigue of the long journey. Ohio and Indiana were loyal States, and loyal soldiers directly from the front in the enemy's country appealed warmly to their interest and sympathy. At Centerville, Indiana, nearby the Quaker City of Richmond, young ladies from the seminary gathered at the railway stations, 'sang many songs, and spoke many cheering words.' Many young soldiers exchanged names and addresses with young women in these States, and they later received loyal literature, and letters, which inspired to greater regard for their services to thir country, and to their Creator. Doubtless, much of the dreariness of camp and picket duties was modified and attachments for life grew from acquaintances thus formed. The writer now frequently meets an excellent man whose father was one of these soldiers.

The cars of the Ohio Central Railway were found dark and unventilated; and call at once arose among the soldiers for the axes of their camp equipment. With a few of these necessary articles in hand, all of the light and air required were soon obtained. From Indianapolis the journey of most of the men was through Columbus, Seymour, and Jeffersonville.

The last of the large shipment of Slocum's men and horses, was made October 2nd, when the first contingent was passing through Nashville, Tennessee. The ammunition and small arms, and the regiments of infantry which were entitled to increased allowance for conscripts, were starting by trains from Alexandria, October 3rd.

A Union army wagon train of 350 was burned and many mules were killed about this time by the enemy in Tennessee, which raised anew the apprehensions of the railway officials and operatives, and even greater circumspection was exercised

regarding the trains bearing these corps and their equipment.

Colonel Innes, Superintendent of Military Roads south of Nashville, telegraphed October 5th that everything was unfavorable for forwarding troops; that the road had been broken in at least two places by the enemy south of Murfreesborough, and that 10,000 of the enemy's cavalry were there with artillery. By order of General Slocum, Innes was forwarding all troops to Murfreesborough and holding the artillery at Nashville. A dispatch from Louisville October 6th, stated that all the troops had arrived at Nashville excepting those with the artillery and horses, which were held subject to the orders of Commanding General Slocum at Nashville. A dispatch from Indianapolis the same day read that the last shipment was sent from there at 9.30 P. M., consisting of horses, baggage and caretakers, closing with the sentence, 'the movements of the XIth and XIIth Corps have been finished in nine days.'

General Daniel H. Rucker, Quartermaster, telegraphed from Washington, October 9th, that all of the transportation of the XIth and XIIth Corps had gone forward; that of the XIth Corps consisting of 150 four-horse teams, 156 six-mule teams, and 75 two-horse ambulances all with horses, harness, wagon-masters, assistant wagon-masters, and drivers, and all in good order. The numbers of the XIth Corps were about the same as those of the XIIth as stated above. The first of the last-named shipment was made Sunday evening, October 4th, and the last Wednesday evening, October 7th. Quartermaster-General Montgomery C. Meigs telegraphed from Louisville October 17th that all the rolling stock of the railway from that place to Stevenson, Alabama, was then in use of the War Department; that some of the animals had suffered from the journey, and he had directed that others be substituted from the stock there; and that rest and food would recruit the jaded travelers.

This was considered a remarkable record for these railways at that time in their earlier history. The distance traveled was about 1,200 miles; the number of soldiers carried, approximately 24,000, with wagons and other equipment as before named. The military management held every employee as well as official responsible for the full and prompt performance of his duty, and permitted no unnecessary delay.

CHAPTER XXIV

Against The Enemy's Cavalry Raids

The Battle of Chickamauga Creek, Georgia, was fought September 19th and 20th. The command of the Union General William S. Rosecrans was outnumbered by the enemy and was obliged to retreat, although his losses were much less than those of the foe. Rosecrans took refuge in Chattanooga, and his able supporter, General George H. Thomas, followed and, September 21st, he took up positions at Rossville and Dry Valley Gap of Mission Ridge. The Confederate General, Braxton Bragg, leisurely followed the Union army and, September 22nd he took positions on Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge.

At Louisville, Kentucky, General Slocum assured himself that his corps had received, or would receive, all the implements and tools necessary for his troops in the mountainous regions of their destination; also an extra wagon-load of such articles for each of his divisions.

In addition to reports from other sources, October 3rd General Rosecrans notified the XIth and XIIth Corps of the great Confederate cavalry raids being made by Generals Joseph Wheeler and Philip D. Roddy through the country they were to pass, and he directed the XIIth Corps to stop on the railway, one division at Wartrace, Tennessee, southeast of Nashville and, if possible, another division at Decherd nearer the Alabama State line 'till the raid blows over' as Union cavalry were in pursuit of the foe. The arrival of Slocum's men was of great service to the Union cause, as they acted an important part in protecting the towns, railway, United States property, and in aiding the Union cavalry in dispersing the enemy not captured.

The enemy captured and burned McMinniville east of Wartrace October 4th; and he was reported as advancing westward on Manchester. General R. S. Granger of Nashville desired information regarding the Union force at Manchester and, October 4th, asked General Hooker, then at Stevenson, Alabama, for report. Butterfield, Chief of Hooker's staff referred Granger to Slocum. The Confederates were deflected from Manchester. General J. A. Garfield, afterward President of United States, now Chief of Rosecrans's staff, asked Hooker October 4th, to

station sufficient detachments of Slocum's men along the railway between Nashville, Tennessee, and Bridgeport, Alabama, as would secure the Union communications against cavalry raids of the enemy. The next day General Slocum was directed to place a sufficient force in Murfreesborough for the protection of United States stores there. Much excitement prevailed. Different commanders of subordinate rank wanted to divide and order around Slocum's troops. Hooker was yet erratic and unstable. He took the XIth and part of the XIIth Corps to Stevenson, and then sent many of these troops back to Bridgeport. He was ordered by Rosecrans to call these troops back to Stevenson, and to send most of General Slocum's men back to Decherd. The rapid movements of the enemy's large cavalry forces, and the severity of their dealings with towns, supplies, railway bridges, and every other thing likely to embarrass the Union troops, spread fear and confusion of action. Union cavalry were in pursuit, however, and the active enemy could not long remain free wanderers.

At 11 A. M. October 4th Slocum received notice that the railway from Wartrace southward to Tantalon was assigned to his protection. The transportation and ambulance trains had been temporarily stopped, and all bridges and trestles were guarded as well as possible with the men in hand. Again, at 11.50 P M. Slocum received an order from Hooker to send back northward to Murfreesborough as many troops as might be required to make that city secure. This town was again threatened by General Wheeler's cavalry variously estimated to number from 4,000 to 10,000 men. Slocum hurried 7,000 troops thither, meantime protecting the railway between Wartrace and that city as best he could. The enemy, being warned of this rally, turned toward Shelbyville some miles from Wartrace and off Slocum's line of protection.

Call came to Slocum October 5th for two regiments of infantry to be sent northward to Christiana before daylight next morning to attack the enemy there, and to keep communication open. At six P. M. a call came for immediate action against the enemy at Christiana. The next morning Wheelers full force, including twelve to twenty-four pieces of artillery, was reported near Shelbyville. They burned this town. Wartrace was attacked

by part of the enemy. He was defeated there, but succeeded in driving small detachments of Slocum's guards away from their stations and thus separating for a short time his line of communication. Rations were getting short and, railway communications being broken, a reduction of one-third ration in issuing was ordered.

General Slocum was in Nashville October 6th attending to the adjustment of supplies in transit. This day he wrote to Butterfield, Hooker's Chief of staff, that he would withdraw his troops from Murfreesborough and elsewhere north, and take up the guarding of the railway between Wartrace and Tantalon, unless soon ordered otherwise. Meantime all efforts were given to repairing lines of communication destroyed by the enemy. The 7th, part of Slocum's XIIth Corps were yet guarding the railway between Cowan and Bridgport, which shows continued wide separation. This day General A. S. Williams of Slocum's First Division, telegraphed from Murfreesborough to General Slocum at Nashville, asking directions regarding movement of troops, and reporting that Union cavalry were in pursuit of the fleeing enemy, and that 'it is plain General Hooker knew nothing of the condition of matters this way' while he was issuing irrelative orders from Stevenson. The same day Williams reported to Hooker that the condition of affairs along the railway were not so serious as he thought, and that all communications would soon be reestablished.

Report from Nashville October 8th showed that the part of the XIIth Corps troops belated at Washington from several causes, were being forwarded to Murfreesborough; also the horses and supplies, all requiring at least one hundred cars a day. The 9th Slocum's troops had everything well in hand, yet with line extended southward between Murfreesborough and Tantalon; and communications were fully repaired this day. Small bands of the enemy continued active, however, threatening the wires, bridges, and railway water supplies, requiring constant vigilance of the Union guards, by night as well as day. The detachments of troops were intrenched at every necessary point of vantage where they could keep the condition of affairs under surveillance.

It had been necessary that General Slocum visit Nashville again regarding the oncoming troops and wagon trains. He re-

turned to Murfreesborough the evening of October 9th to meet General Butterfield. Further complaint was made the next evening that the non-arrival of the belated eastern troops, and the continued requests of an unusual number of general officers, were embarrassing the small detachments spread along the railway, and leaving their places open to the enemy. But the enemy was being rapidly depleted by deaths in skirmishes and in disablements and captures by the Union troops.

General Slocum's First Division moved its headquarters to Decherd October 10th, and General Williams reported that the enemy had been active thereabout, and that his own movement had been arduous and not eminently fruitful. He found the railway tunnel at Cowan blocked, and the enemy hiding in the woods nearby.

General Geary, of Slocum's Second Division, also reported the 10th, regarding his command at Murfreesborough, an important depot of United States supplies, that in addition to his Second Division of the XIIth Corps he had troops, as follows: the 19th Michigan Volunteer Infantry, Colonel H. C. Gilbert, with effective strength of 478 men; 22nd Wisconsin, Colonel W. L. Utley, 321; Detachment of the 4th East Tennessee Cavalry, Major Stephens, and detachment of dismounted men of the 1st Brigade, IInd Cavalry Division, Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Seibert, aggregating 270 men. Troops in Fort Rosecrans, Major C. Houghtaling, commanding; First Illinois Light Artillery, 938; Stragglers of the XIth and XIIth Army Corps, Captain W. J. Mackey of the 147th Pennsylvania Volunteers commanding, 124 men. Total 2,131.

The armament of Fort Rosecrans consisted of: 11 8-inch siege howitzers; 15 24-pounder James's rifled siege guns; 16 6-pounder smoothbore field guns; 2 12-pounder howitzers, field; One 10-pounder rifled Parrot, field; 4 6-pounder rifled James, field; One 3-inch rifled Rodman, field; and One 3-inch bronze, field gun. Total 51 cannon. General Slocum also had eleven outpost stations near Fort Rosecrans.

General Hooker, being in cheerful, elated and communicative state of mind, October 11th, he wrote from Stevenson, Alabama, to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, that, if he projected the transference of the XIth and XIIth Corps to the De-

partment of the Cumberland, he might well claim the merit of having saved Chattanooga to the Union cause.

As soon as the Confederate General Bragg found it not practicable to attack Rosecrans in Chattanooga, or Thomas at Rossville, Bragg started his cavalry on its strong and rapid raiding tour to cut off all communications and supplies, and thus compel the surrender of the Union forces to prevent their starvation. Such would have been an early result but for the prompt arrival of Slocum's and Howard's forces.

CHAPTER XXV

Much Hard Work, and But Little Honor

Slocum kept his men busy, as much as practicable by extending and strengthening intrenchments and stockades, and in securing good water supplies from the enemy who was active to destroy by pollution if necessary. This, with the receipt and adjustment of the great army trains necessary to put the troops again on a full war basis, required much time and fatiguing work by officers and troops.

Not being content at Stevenson Hooker, with his persistence in annoying Slocum with frequent orders of a dictatorial nature, most of which were unnecessary and, withal very irritating to Slocum's sensitive spirit, he wrote a letter to President Lincoln October 12, making gratuitous suggestion that Slocum 'be tendered a command in Missouri or somewhere else.' His letter further reads: "Unless he gives more satisfaction in the discharge of his duties, he will soon find himself in deeper water than he has been wading in. I shall deal very deliberately with him. I will incur reproach if I allow the public interest to suffer by his contumacy. He now appears to be swayed entirely by passion in the exercise of his office. I hear that his grievances are hostility to myself, association with the Eleventh Corps, and disrespect shown his rank in detailing him for this service. It seems that he aspired to the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that mortal offense was given in not naming him first. Of these you probably know more than myself. I should rejoice to have the Twelfth Corps put in Butterfield's hands."

The writer would not mention such personal differences

were this effusion of Hooker, and much other, not embraced in the publications of the War Department [62] and were exploited malignly against General Slocum. Not a little time and effort have been expended by the writer with desire to find evidence warranting this tirade of Hooker against Slocum and, in the writer's opinion, it was not warranted. That Slocum chafed under Hooker's unjust censoriousness is doubtless true, but his writings afford no evidence of desire on his part to annoy or embarrass Hooker, much less the service to which he devoted all his energies. Slocum's desire was to keep away from Hooker and his command. There is evidence, however, of Hooker's continued efforts to criminate Slocum by censorious expressions and needless inquiry into the cause of a few detached soldiers fleeing, and thus saving themselves and their equipment, from an overwhelming force of the raiding enemy. Slocum was at this time at Nashville, over fifty miles distant, attending to his major duties. Undoubtedly Hooker's able and gentlemanly chief of staff, Major-General Daniel Butterfield, was able to tide his chief over many erratic and absurd denunciations, errors of commission and of omission, that would otherwise have caused his dismissal from the army definitely.[62] A less considerate man than Slocum would have positively resigned and left the service. He having been placed in such objectionable company, even subordinated to it, by President Lincoln the latter would soon fulfill his promise, and he felt that the present condition would continue only during this emergency.

Colonel Thomas A. Scott reported from Louisville October 13th that there was an abundance of equipment for the XIth and XIIth Corps on the railway line between there and Bridgeport, Alabama, to supply 140 cars a day if they could be free from accident and the enemy. The equipment referred to included not only the animals for the army wagons but beef cattle, forage for the animals, rations for the men and other army supplies. None of the XIIth Corps equipment had passed Nashville this day. Forage was scarce for the officers' horses, and liberal price was offered farmers in their vicinity for all that they could supply. But the enemy's raiders had consumed much and destroyed more, and the farmers received no real money from them.

There had been so much of change and interchange, and at times of confusion therefrom, that General Slocum issued his General Orders Number 26, under the date of October 13th, formally assuming command of the United States troops along the Nashville and Chattanooga Railway from Murfreesborough to Tantalon. Five hundred of the enemy's cavalry were sighted this day, but they escaped unharmed there being no Union cavalry to pursue them.

The character, and depleted condition, at this date of the XIIth Corps, particularly of the Third Brigade of the 1st Division, was reported by its commander, General Thomas H. Ruger, at his headquarters, Tullahoma, Tennessee, namely:

Colonel W. Hawley commanding at Elk River with the 3rd Wisconsin Volunteers, 312 enlisted men; 2nd Massachusetts Volunteers, 290 men under Colonel Cogswell; 107th New York Volunteers (eight companies) 270 under Colonel Crance; 102nd Ohio Volunteers, 280, Major Elliott; 1st United States Colored Infantry, 800, Colonel Thompson; 33rd Indiana (detachment) 60, Captain Seaton; 2nd Kentucky Battery, 82 men, Captain Hewett; Engineer troops (detachment) 155 men. At Estill Springs: the 107th New York, two companies, 67 men, and at Trestle-work three miles south of Tullahoma the 150th New York (three companies) 120 men, Captain Wickes commanding.

At Tullahoma: the 27th Indiana, 320, Colonel Cosgrove; 13th New Jersey, 331, Colonel Carman; 150th New York (seven companies) 280 under Colonel Ketcham; 33rd Indiana (five companies) 286 men, Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson; and the 9th Ohio Battery (two sections), 84 men, Captain H. B. York, Two 12-pounder Napoleons, and Two 3-inch rifled cannon.

General John W. Geary, in command of Slocum's Second Division, reported October 13th from his headquarters at Murfreesborough, the positions of his scattered troops, in substance as follows:

Colonel Cobham was ordered by telegraph at 10.15 this morning to detach two companies to Shelbyville. IInd Brigade, Colonel G. A. Cobham, headquarters at Christiana; the 111th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Walker, at Christiana, on picket duty and patrolling the railway from within three miles of Murfreesborough to Murray's Cut; 109th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Captain F. L. Gimber, at the Millersburg and Columbus Cross-Roads, on picket and patrolling railway to connect with regiment last named; the 29th Pennsylvania Volunteers, Colonel W. Richards, Jr., at Fosterville (two companies at Shelbyville), on picket, patrolling railway to Bell Buckle, and connecting with the last named regiment. IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General George S. Greene, headquarters at Murfreesborough; with the 78th New York Volunteers, Lieutenant

H. von Hammerstein, on railway bridge over west fork of Stone's River about three miles south of Murfreesborough; 60th New York Volunteers, Colonel A. Godard; 102nd New York Volunteers, Colonel Lane, and 19th Michigan Volunteers, Colonel H. C. Gilbert, stationed at Murfreesborough, near railway depot; 149th New York Volunteers, Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Randall; 22nd Wisconsin Volunteers, Colonel W. L. Utley, and detachments of convalescents, in Fortress Rosecrans, near Murfreesborough.

Fortress Rosecrans, Major C. Houghtaling, 1st Illinois Light Artillery, commanding: Detachment of dismounted cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Seibert, on Court House Square, Murfreesborough; Detachment of 4th East Tennessee Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Thornburgh, at Murfreesborough when not out on scouting duty.

Detachment of infantry, from 1st Brigade IVth Division of the XIVth Army Corps, Lieutenant G. W. Boggess, near Fortress Rosecrans. 1st Brigade, Colonel Charles Candy, headquarters at Duck River; with the 7th and 66th Ohio Volunteers, at Wartrace; the 28th and 147th Pennsylvania Volunteers, at Duck River; 5th and 29th Ohio Volunteers, at Normandy Trestle. Report of other scattered commands of Colonel Candy had not been received at this date.

The 137th New York Volunteers, Colonel David Ireland, of the IIIrd Brigade, was guarding wagons on their way to Tantalon.

The details of keeping such widely scattered troops in soldierly bearing and discipline required far more attention from the general officers than a compact army in the field against the enemy. Whenever possible the scattered troops were protected in the best possible way from the weather and the enemy's firearms. Earthworks of various forms were constructed, logs and timber were used for stockades, bastions, sleeping and resting shelters and for traverses, and trees in abatis.

CHAPTER XXVI

Battle of Wauhatchie by Slocum's Men

President Lincoln ordered, through the War Department, October 16th, an important change by merging the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee, into the Military Division of the Mississippi. General U. S. Grant was placed in command of the Division, with headquarters in the field. General Rosecrans was relieved of his command of the Army of the Cumberland, and General George H. Thomas was named as his successor. In this order General Grant's attention

was called to two of his first duties: the supply of his armies, and the closing of the passes in the Georgia Mountains for the shutting of the enemy from Tennessee and Kentucky.

General A. S. Williams, with headquarters at Decherd, Tennessee, among his reports to General Slocum October 17th, mentioned as resident there, Captain Sims who had been commissioned brigadier-general and military governor, by Governor Andrew Johnson, afterwards Vice President of the United States, and President after the death of Abraham Lincoln. Notwithstanding his claims, this product of Governor Johnson did not materially interfere with the United States authority.

General Slocum was asked October 18th, to yet further divide his command by sending his IInd Division to Bridgeport to advance to the front; also to extend other detachments to take the place of a brigade of the XIth Corps by sending three companies of infantry near Tantalon, two companies to Anderson, two companies to Cowan, three companies between Stevenson and Bridgeport, Alabama, and the remainder of the brigade, with brigade headquarters, to Stevenson. This was for the purpose of making an advance against the enemy, primarily to open communication between Bridgeport and Chattanooga, both by land and the Tennessee River, to supply the short rationed Army of the Cumberland and, secondarily, as a starting of a general advance of the Union forces against the enemy.

Slocum's movements and readjustments were nesessarily made by marchings, from want of sufficient railway equipment to carry them by rail.

General George H. Thomas assumed command of the Army of the Cumberland October 19th, and General Rosecrans was ordered to the north. This day General Slocum sent an officer to Nashville to forward wagons, ambulances, hospital stores, ammunition, and all other supplies necessary for his commands.

Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, and special correspondent of the secretary, wrote from Chattanooga October 23rd that an immediate movement of the Union troops for the occupation of Raccoon Mountain and Lookout Valley was indispensable. General Hooker had been ordered the 13th to mass his troops for this purpose, but he waited for wagons although Thomas would not permit him to use them in this short journey

in the valley; and Hooker had no zeal in the enterprise. Hooker was behindhand. Dana met him at Bridgeport, his starting point October 27th, and found him "in an unfortunate state of mind for one who has to co-operate, fault finding, criticising, dissatisfied."[64]

Hooker started his forces, composed of Howard's XIth Army Corps and Slocum's Second Division, in part, of the XIIth Corps, at daylight October 27th, Howard taking the lead. Howard went through to near Brown's Ferry where he arrived about three P. M. without serious opposition. Thomas's men were there with pontoons for a bridge. They met with some opposition but were victors with small loss, and completed their work. Hooker halted Slocum's men under General Geary, about three miles back from the Union front, and directed their camp for the night at Wauhatchie, the intersection of Kelly's Ferry and Brown's Ferry roads (see map). Here we will let Dana describe the condition: "These positions not only invited attack from the enemy, who could see everything from the top of Lookout Mountain, but were very bad for the defense of the Valley, and General Hazen, commanding the forces on the hills, went to General Hooker and endeavored to get him to take up a compact line across the valley, and to bring all his forces together. But being confident the enemy would not disturb him, Hooker refused to change his dispositions."

The enemy formed a plan to surprise Geary's small division, rout it, capture his animals, and set fire to all supplies he could not carry away. About the middle of the night Geary's trusted pickets were impetuously attacked and driven in, with the furious enemy at their heels with 'unearthly yells wherein these Confederates stood confessedly unrivalled.' The enemy's forces though rattle-brained and exhausted from their great efforts to frighten, were highly expectant of an easy prey. But Geary and his men, true to the discipline received from Slocum, were in no wise inclined to panic or running. Although the enemy charged on three sides, he was met with a steady, direct fire into each of his fronts, such as running, excited men could neither direct nor escape. This fire rapidly withered their ranks. Those at close range began to surrender, and those further away deployed with little change in result. Geary's four cannon on nearby knoll also

did great execution. From the prisoners it was learned that the assailants were Hood's division of Longstreet's corps, General Micah Jenkins being in immediate command. After between three and four hours the enemy was withdrawn, leaving 153 of his dead in Geary's front, and over 100 prisoners. General Geary fortified his position the next day, while shot and shells from the enemy's guns on the Mountain fell 'in every portion of the works, without any casualties or interference with the workers.'

Seven of Geary's regiments had not joined him in time for this engagement at Wauhatchie; one was holding the pass between Whitesides and Trenton, and the 29th Pennsylvania was engaged on grand guard duty. The actual (severe) fighting throughout the battle was sustained, in conjunction with the artillery, by the 137th New York Volunteers, the 109th, 111th, and portions of the 29th Pennsylvania Volunteers, embracing 41 officers with 743 men. Slocum's other regiments present were actively engaged but part of the time. Their presence, however, retarded the movements of the enemy to a degree. The Union losses were: Staff, 4 wounded; the 78th New York, 15 killed, 75 wounded; 149th New York, 1 killed, 11 wounded; 29th Pennsylvania, 1 killed, 6 wounded, and 2 missing; 109th Pennsylvania, 5 killed, 23 wounded, and 4 missing; 111th Pennsylvania, 9 killed, 34 wounded, and 2 missing; Knapp's Pennsylvania Battery, 3 killed, and 19 wounded.

General George S. Greene, an able and faithful brigade commander of Gettysburg fame, was seriously wounded early in the battle. He did not rejoin his brigade until it arrived in North Carolina, completing its great march from Atlanta.

General Geary's son was among the killed. "When the rays of the rising sun came over Lookout Mountain they fell with a mellow light upon the tall and portly form of General Geary, standing with bowed head on the summit of the knoll, while before him lay the lifeless form of a lieutenant of artillery. Scattered about were cannon, battered and bullet-marked caissons and limbers, and many teams of horses dead in harness. There were many other dead, but none attracted his attention save this one, for he was his son. The men, respecting his sorrow, stood at a distance in silence, while he communed with his grief."[63]

Lieutenant E. R. Geary of the artillery, son of the General, was a young man of excellent character. His father wrote of him in his official report as follows: "I may be permitted to remark, I experience, in conjunction with the keen regrets of a commanding officer for a worthy officer, the pangs of a father's grief for a cherished son, whose budding worth in wealth of intellect and courage was filling full the cup of paternal pride."

General Geary estimated the enemy's losses in this battle as fully 1,000 men. Hooker stated in his report that 'it cannot fall short of fifteen hundred.' But Hooker was several miles distant. The disproportion between the Union and Confederate losses was due to the calmness of Slocum's men who were instructed to aim so as to strike chest or abdomen of the foe, while the enemy aimed high, lost far more in prisoners, and largely in desertions.

At 3.30 P. M. of October 29th Geary sent for reinforcements, with notice that they guard well their right bank. At 7:25 P. M. his headquarters reported to Butterfield that two brigades of General Schurz's division were with him. They were placed near Rowden's House, Wauhatchie. The enemy made no further attack; and, with the connection now opened and maintained between Bridgeport and Chattanooga, by both railway and river, rations in full were soon established, excepting occasional delays from poor condition of the railway. The successful midnight Battle of Wauhatchie by Slocum's men had settled the most important question of food supplies for the Army of the Cumberland.

Assistant Secretary Dana wrote to the Secretary of War, from Chattanooga, October 29th, that: "Grant also wishes to have both Hooker and Slocum removed from his command, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps consolidated under Howard. He would himself order Hooker and Slocum away, but hesitates because they have just been sent here by the President. Besides, I think he would rather prefer that so serious a proceeding should come from headquarters. Hooker has behaved badly ever since his arrival,[64] and Slocum has just sent in a very disorderly communication, stating that when he came here it was under promise that he should not have to serve under Hooker, whom he neither regards with confidence as an officer nor respects as a man. Altogether Grant feels that their presence here is replete with both

trouble and danger; besides, the smallness of the two corps requires their consolidation."

The signature of Major-General U. S. Grant appears at the bottom of the following writing under date of Chattanooga, October 26th, namely: "Indorsement on letter from Major-General H. W. Slocum, Twelfth Corps, asking to be relieved from duty under General Hooker: Respectfully forwarded to headquarters of the army, Washington, D. C.

"On taking command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, I found Major-General Hooker in command of the Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps. His position is one that rather embarrasses the service than benefits it, inasmuch as detaching one of these corps would leave two commanders for one small army corps. As General Slocum objects to serving under General Hooker, who has been assigned to his present command by the President, I would respectfully recommend that General Hooker be assigned to the command of the Twelfth Army Corps and General Slocum relieved from further duty."[65]

Copy of General Slocum's second resignation further than the foregoing has not been found (for reference to his first resignation see the index), nor has any record been found that the War Department took any notice of Hooker's fulmination (see ante) or of Grant's recommendation. The authorities at Washington knew too much of Slocum's worth to the Union cause, however, to accept his resignation from the army. Why they appointed Hooker to this command, they well knowing his intemperate habits and shattered nervous system, and why they kept him at this time 'to embarrass the service' is not apparent. The average verdict would probably be, that they should not have coupled Slocum and Hooker together for this work in Tennessee, but having done so, they should have separated them at this time, in justice to Slocum at least.

General George H. Thomas, commanding general of the Army of the Cumberland, to whom General Slocum sent his letter desiring relief from Hooker's further dictation, wrote to Slocum as follows: "You are to command all troops stationed on the railroad from Murfreesborough to Bridgeport, both inclusive. You will pass over the line and make such disposition as you deem best, and report to these headquarters [Chattanooga not to

Hooker] where you think it advisable to establish your headquarters. The message sent you in cipher referred to your communication marked personal, which has been referred to General Grant.'' Surely Dana was drawing a very long bow when he styled General Slocum's communication to General Thomas (marked personal and mentioning his Washington agreement regarding Hooker) 'a very disorderly communication.'

General Slocum issued his General Orders Number 27 in accordance with General Thomas's communication.

General Hooker's position at Wauhatchie was considered a weak one by army engineers and, October 30th, he was ordered to change to a strong line running diagonally across Lookout Valley, his right covering the Kelly's Ferry Road and resting on Raccoon Mountain, and his left resting on one of the series of hills which formed the engineers' bridge head and extended up the Lookout Valley. The enemy continued cannoneering against the Union forces, but without effect.[66]

CHAPTER XXVII

Battle Above the Clouds by Slocum's Men

Abstract of returns from the Department of the Cumberland October 31st, show the status of XIIth Army Corps to have been as follows:

Major-General H. W. Slocum commanding, with headquarters at Wartrace, Tennessee, with escort of 14 officers and 145 enlisted men present for duty, and with aggregate present and absent, 237.

Ist Division, General A. S. Williams with headquarters at Tullahoma, 255 officers, and 4,310 enlisted men present for duty, and an aggregate present and absent of 7,417.

IInd Division, General John W. Geary with headquarters at Wauhatchie, with 219 officers and 3,904 men present for duty, and an aggregate present and absent of 7,248.

Artillery, 11 officers and 343 men present for duty, and an aggregate present and absent of 469, with 20 cannon.

Total present for duty, 499 officers, with 8,702 enlisted men, and an aggregate present and absent of 15,371.

These numbers are materially less than those of the last return, from losses in engagements with the enemy, and deaths from disease. The Abstract of returns of this Corps November 20th, show some increase, as follows:

Present for duty, officers, 511; enlisted men, 8,206; aggregate present for duty, 10,206, with 26 cannon. Those absent were not enumerated in this report. At this time the XIth Army Corps was reported with only 7,769 present for duty.

On November 6th Dana reported that General Thomas had passed the day visiting Hooker's lines in Lookout Valley, that he found the lines very negligently placed, and the rifle pits badly done. "Apparently this is the first time Howard has ridden the lines of his corps. Hooker seems to pay little attention to his duties."[66] This will remind the reader of Chancellorsville, and again show why General Slocum would not have further association with Hooker; and why he chafed from his Second Division, under General Geary, being nominally under Hooker's command.

Major-General William T. Sherman, who had been in command of the XVth Army Corps, operating in Mississippi, was appointed by General Grant Commander of the Department and Army of the Tennessee October 19th. Sherman assumed this command October 24th when at Iuka, Mississippi; and he at once took up the march, and arrived at Chattanooga in person November 19th. The greater part of his XVth Corps arrived the next day, with a division of the XVIIth Corps.

Preparations were nearly completed for advancing against the enemy on Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge. Part of Sherman's troops not arriving in time, Howard and his XIth Corps were taken from Hooker by Sherman instead. The Tennessee River rising at this time from flooding rains, and disabling the bridges, part of Sherman's belated troops were turned to Hooker's command, consisting of two brigades under Generals James A. Williamson and Charles R. Woods from General Peter J. Osterhaus's division. Hooker was also given command of two brigades under Generals William Grose and Walter C. Whitaker from General Charles Cruft's division of the IVth Corps Army of the Cumberland.

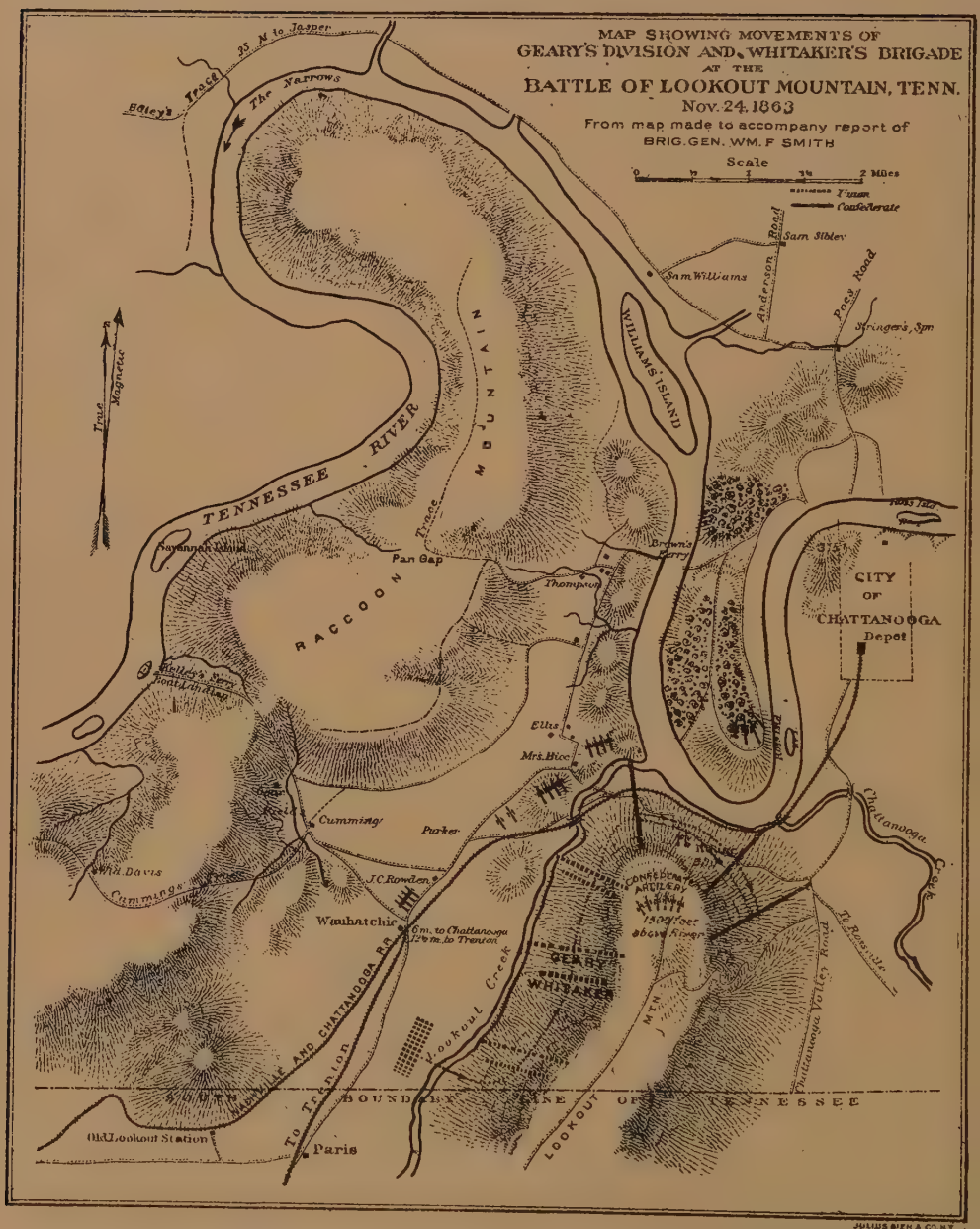
Part of Hooker's forces began active preparation for the

advance on Lookout Mountain November 23rd, namely: Slocum's Second Division, under General Geary, was extended so as to include the entire position previously maintained by Howard's XIth Army Corps and Geary's own command combined, the line extending from the confluence of Lookout Creek with the Tennessee River at its left to the top of Raccoon Mountain with its right (see map).

It was decided not to attempt to take even the lightest of artillery up the Mountain side. The day before the storming of the Mountain's crest General Geary stationed his section of Slocum's artillery as follows: One section of Knapp's Pennsylvania Battery, under Lieutenant McGill to accompany the storming column to the point of massing, then to return and be placed on a hill half way between the old mill and Bald Hill under the supervision of Major J. A. Reynolds, Chief of Artillery, who also placed two sections of Battery K, 1st Ohio Artillery (light 12-pounders) under Lieutenant Sahm, on Bald Hill near the junction of the creek with the river; and he put two sections of Battery I, 1st New York Artillery on a hill opposite Lookout Point and behind Bald Hill. One Section of 20-pounder Parrott's, of the 4th Ohio Battery was placed in the gap to the right, and one section of howitzers of the 1st Iowa Battery placed to command the approaches to the lower bridge from the hill on the right of the gap. Two sections of Knapp's Pennsylvania Battery had been placed on an eminence to the left of Kelly's Ferry Road on the original line of defense, from which they could command the sides of Lookout Mountain. All of the artillery thus placed could work on the enemy's upper fortifications.

As protectors of the most exposed part of his valley position, and gunners, Geary placed two hundred of his grand guards, chosen from different regiments, along the creek from Wauhatchie Junction to the left of the Kelley's Ferry Road, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel E. Powell of the 66th Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

Slocum's men were at the head of the column for the storming of Lookout Mountain November 24th. General W. C. Whitaker with six regiments of the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the IVth Army Corps, were subordinate to General John W. Geary who was also in immediate command of Slocum's IInd Division of



Showing the Sites of the Battles of Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain where General Slocum's men won Great Victories

the XIIth Army Corps. All of these troops were in light marching order for active, energetic work for scaling the Mountain and attacking the enemy.

Crossing the railway at Wauhatchie Junction, they passed under cover of the woods to an old mill about two and a half miles up the Lookout Creek from its mouth. At this time clouds enveloped the Mountain top, while heavy misty fog obscured the Mountain side from distant view, favoring the advance of the Union force. Pioneers were sent forward under protective skirmishers, to bridge the creek which was swollen from copious rains. A detachment from Slocum's 66th Ohio Regiment was also sent to another point of the Mountain approach to make demonstration for the purpose of diverting the attention of the enemy away from the chosen points of ascent. This stratagem was successful.

When the creek bridge was completed, Slocum's advance skirmishers were instructed to capture the enemy's pickets in the front by ready, quick movement without firing a gun. The skirmishers were veterans, true to their training, and they captured forty-three of the enemy's pickets including one negro in the rapid round up.

The leading column, of Slocum's men, began crossing Lookout Creek at 8.30 A. M., the Second Brigade under Colonel G. A. Cobham, Jr., rapidly leading the right up the slope in a direct line from the creek crossing to the upper front palisade of the Mountain. Colonel David Ireland, in command of the Third Brigade of Slocum's Second Division since the wounding of General George S. Greene in the Battle of Wauhatchie, followed, joining Cobham on the left. Then General Whitaker's brigade followed, and Colonel Charles Candy with Geary's First Brigade of Slocum's men, closed the rear.

The line of battle was formed as follows: Cobham in front of right, with two regiments; Ireland with four regiments in the center; Candy on the left in echelon, at about thirty paces interval to the troops on his right; and the 66th Ohio Regiment and three companies of the 5th Ohio in echelon as reserve. This constituted the front, covering the slopes from Lookout Creek to the palisade of Lookout Mountain top. The 8th Kentucky Regiment, the 35th Indiana, 99th and 40th Ohio, respectively, in order from the right of Whitaker's brigade,

formed the second line of support, about three hundred and fifty yards to the rear of the front line, the right remaining opposite Cobham's center. About one hundred yards in the rear of the supporting line were placed the 96th Illinois Regiment and the 51st Ohio, also of Whitaker's brigade. Each subordinate command held this relative position remarkably well, excepting from the necessary changes of Candy from the changing contour of his way. Hooker had little, if anything, to do in formulating the plan of attack; and he remained in a place of safety at his previous headquarters miles away.

The numerous skirmishers kept the front line from being surprised by the enemy throughout the day. But sharpshooters above the palisade rock were annoying whenever the clouds raised to enable them to aim well. The right of Cobham's advancing line was held, by the 29th Pennsylvania Regiment, close to the rugged palisade, or precipice, of the Mountain's summit. This gradually separated the left obliquely from the creek, lengthened the line after a mile's advance, and changed Candy's echelon to two lines. The slope of the Mountain was often nearly a forty-five degree angle; and it was frequently broken into gullies and ravines, the latter varying from fifty to even one hundred feet in depth, generally with rather precipitous and rocky sides which made the sliding down one side and clambering up the other not only difficult but dangerous from liability of their comrades' guns being accidentally discharged, and rocks easily loosened to roll or slide with rapidity and force against the soldiers below.

When nearing the turning point around Point Lookout, the skirmishers reported a movement of the enemy above in support of comrades in rifle pits near the flats and river. This caused quick change of front and charge of the Union left, and this part of the enemy was routed from the pits. The fords were thus uncovered; and the Union troops held there in reserve advanced to new positions.

Badge of the XIIth Army Corps

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Battle Above the Clouds, Concluded

Candy's brigade was soon ordered at a right half wheel, and it hurried up the lower slope of the Mountain side while the line above moved relatively slower on the upper slopes.

The enemy's pickets were soon met in their well stationed and protected positions. They were at once attacked by the Union skirmishers, and driven back to the battle lines of their comrades who were formed about one mile beyond and near their camp which covered the entire plateau in front of the Union right and center. Approach to them displayed a formidable natural protection of rocks, made yet more formidable by breastworks of earth with tangled meshes without. These were the front of a network of rugged fortifications, in form of natural, and artificial irregular polygons, within which was the Confederate General E. C. Walthall's brigade of Mississippians in battle array.

Without dismay or hesitation Slocum's skirmishers, with their comrades at their heels, attacked the enemy, advancing as rapidly as possible and with bayonets fixed. They returned the enemy's fire in front and doubled on his flank. Regardless of the sharpshooters in the gorges, and on the crest during the lighter intervals of fog liftings, vigorous assault was made, Ireland's brigade and Cobham's 111th Pennsylaania Regiment closing in with the enemy in front, and the 29th Pennsylvania striking them forcibly in their left flank. Slocum's forces rapidly encompassed the camp, scaled the walls of the fortification, and so bayonetted and bruised Walthall's men that, in less than fifteen minutes, many of them threw down their arms and surrendered their colors. The others started to run away and were checked by shells from Slocum's watchful artillerists who were anxious to share in routing the enemy who surrendered, preferring capture to attempting to run the gauntlet of such accurate artillery work. These batteries also threw some shells over the heads of their comrades, into the fortifications on top of the Mountain which caused no little confusion there. Efforts of the enemy to use their artillery on the storming party resulted in no harm from their being unable to lower the muzzles of their guns

sufficiently. They then lighted the fuses of shells and hurled them over the palisade rock, but little harm was done by them. A Confederate regiment descended from the top of the Mountain through a pass in the rear of the Union right flank; and immediately the 29th Pennsylvania Regiment faced about and fired a volley into the newcomers that caused their immediate surrender.

Active advance work was continued by Slocum's men. The second serious obstructions met by them were the fortifications occupied by the Confederate General Thomas J. Churchill's brigade composed of Alabama and Georgia troops then commanded by General George Maney. The Union artillery ceased firing as Slocum's men rounded the curvature between the lower and uppermost ledges. This being attained, Colonels Ireland and Cobham's commands charged upon the fortifications held by Maney's troops who presented strong resistance for a short time. Ireland pressed the enemy hotly in the face of fierce volleys at close quarters; and Cobham's right poured into the enemy's flank yet more fatal volleys which caused the enemy to fall back from one protective work to another. He was vigorously followed in rear and flank, his retreat being constantly hastened, no time being given him to rally until he was beyond the fortifications and well out of reach of the Union assailants. Now, in addition to the pleasure of being victors, and in possession of much of the enemy's stronghold, the Union troops, who were mostly from less mountainous regions, reveled in the novelty of being about the clouds which had settled on the mountain slope. The air, and surrounding conditions, were exhilarating.

It was now midday and, between the riftings of the clouds, glimpses of General Osterhaus's division and of General Grose's brigade, of Sherman's belated troops were seen climbing the mountain a long way to the left of Slocum's men.

Reconnoissance discovered the retreated enemy massing a heavy line in Geary's front, on the east side of the mountain and extending from the palisade above to the valley below. Colonel Cobham was directed to advance seven or eight hundred yards around the point in order to command the enemy's flank, and make that of Geary secure. The mountain was here exceedingly steep, but Cobham was equal to the requirement and passed

his men singly along a narrow path at the base of the palisade of rock rising seventy-five to one hundred feet perpendicularly above them. They attained the desired position, and drove the enemy's skirminshers from the slope below, while their backs rested against the acclivity.

During Cobham's movement, Colonel Ireland continued the chase after the retreating enemy. He passed through a peach orchard on a narrow plateau, encircled a strong mass of protective works, captured them, fired on the retreating foe from them, then leaped over the rear wall, and assailed another line with like result. At the time of the attainment of Cobham's new position, Ireland was engaging the enemy intrenched behind a stone wall running parallel with the Union line from the Craven House, often called White House. Ireland's center divided at this house directly across the enemy's line, and the 60th and 137th New York Volunteer Regiments dashed through the yard, captured two cannon there and, throwing the flag of the last named regiment over the guns to denote their capture, passed on, while the 149th New York Volunteers swerved to the left of the house, and all actively engaged the enemy, the entire force rapidly capturing prisoners, continuing an effective firing, and keeping up with the retreating foe over successive belts of ramparts through the level area, the enemy reluctantly yielding each protected point. The State of New York has erected a beautiful monumental shaft at this point in honor of Colonel Ireland's (formerly Greene's) brigade of Slocum's men.

About five hundred yards beyond the Craven House, by the Mountain Road, the enemy before mentioned in heavy force (afterward learned to be three large brigades of Confederate Generals William H. T. Walker and Carter L. Stevenson's divisions) well covered in the woods and by rocks, received their comrades who had been routed by Slocum's men. Colonel Ireland, without consideration of their overwhelming numbers, fresh condition, and strong position, fiercely attacked them. General Whitaker, who had been halted at the Craven House, was ordered to send part of one of his regiments to the support of Ireland's left. It met strong resistance, and was soon withdrawn. The enemy made several charges against Ireland's command and was handsomely repulsed each time. Ireland's entire force was

hotly engaged, and Cobham then seeing his opportunity from his exalted perch, poured volley after volley into the enemy's left flank, enfilading his lines so as to make his position untenable. Unfortunately for the Unionists at that time the clouds, which had been for some time raised above the scene, now settled upon Cobham's men and continued to obscure the enemy who, being relieved from the disastrous fire, gave attention to his wounded, and to the reforming of his lines.

Now came an order out of the great distance from the commanding general, Hooker, for Geary to halt on the heights and strengthen the Union position there, Hooker not realizing the great advance gained. While Geary was planning to hold not only the heights but all of his advanced position below, Osterhaus's men came up and were formed on Ireland's left which, with other parts of Slocum's men, enabled him to form a strong line to retain all the ground gained from the upper palisade down well toward Chattanooga Creek. Whitaker's brigade was held as reserve on line with the Craven House. All parts of Geary's force which were not well positioned and protected in the captured works of the enemy, proceeded to construct works for their protection. Colonel Cobham's command cut into the side of the mountain for more room and protection. Soon after midday their flag was hoisted on the higest accessible point of the mountain gained November 24th.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the enemy assaulted in force the left of Geary's division of Slocum's men, but he was driven back to his cover notwithstanding the hasty retreat of a supporting Union regiment of another command.

Slocum's men had been at the front and on the heels of the enemy in all of the four miles of strenuous advance. The severe exertion on the steep mountain sides, with their gullies and ravines, caused the profuse perspiration and fatigue. Their animated assaultings and pursuits of the enemy, continued as they were, were not less fatiguing. Their clothing was wet with perspiration and with the heavy mists of the mountain. The mountain air was cold and, in their light dress, they were much chilled when the active exercise ceased. All of this, however, was borne cheerfully, and the best of spirit animated these veterans of Slocum at all times.

When ammunition ran low, the cartridges were replenished from the boxes of the captured foe, and from supplies brought from the valley in the pockets of those sent for it, and on the backs of mules brought back with them.

About three o'clock the enemy began to mass under the upper palisade in front and to the left of Cobham. General Geary directed the 28th Pennsylvania Regiment to dislodge this force, which it did with dispatch. The enemy's sharpshooters abounding at this time, a part of the 28th Pennsylvania was detached to quiet them, which desired effect it also accomplished. Fires were built later among the Union men and they were kept burning during the night. Although there was no call to arms, but little sleep was obtained during the night by the bivouacking victors.

Before daylight of the morning of November 25th small reconnoitering parties were sent by General Geary to gain the summit of Lookout Mountain by the aid of ladders placed at the lower parts of the palisade. One party ascended on the eastern and another on the western side of Point Lookout; and they unfurled their banners at about the same time. The numerous enemy evacuated every part of his works on mountain and slope, and had retreated in the night, leaving camp equipment, many arms, and stores in great quantity. Stragglers yet lingered around the fires which they had kept burning. They gladly gave the conquerors all the information they possessed regarding their former comrades. The fear of Geary's besetting force on Lookout Mountain, the advance of Sherman and Thomas's armies against their Confederate comrades on Missionary Ridge who required their help, or the fear of the blocking of their line of retreat from Geary, one, or all these, may have influenced the enemy's retreat from Geary.

It was a very noteworthy battle, altogether, and a very remarkable victory, worthy of Slocum's thoroughly disciplined and often tried veterans. Fortunately Hooker remained in the valley miles away, where he could not defeat victory. In addition to the natural obstructions of ravines, precipices, rocks and crevices, with sharpshooters stationed at every point of vantage, were added abatis, slashings, and carefully constructed defensive works built systematically in chain along the top of the

mountain and down its side well toward the valleys below. Practically all of the enemy's fortifications, and equipment, were in possession of the victors. The battle-fields were strewn with the dead of Union and Confederate troops.

Relative to the prisoners captured by the Unionists, possibly overestimated as two thousand or more, there were conflicting claims inasmuch as Slocum's men, being in the van and continued fighting and turning prisoners over to those in their rear, many, if not most of the prisoners were claimed by each, or most, of the subordinate commands seeing or guarding them, while Slocum's men were the real captors.

The advance columns of Slocum's men had vantage in the necessary right-wheel movement in turning the angle of Lookout Point and slope crest, which afforded Geary's slower moving right flank a continued enfilading fire, thus greatly relieving the center and left columns on the slope below for their necessarily more rapid movement. Rapid, persistent action was necessary throughout for success in storming the enemy's works. Be quick to displace the man in front of you, was the order of the day, and it meant that several of the enemy were displaced by each persistent assailant, which accounted for the wonderful accomplishments by the determined energy of the storming force. Slow, deliberate movement would have been followed by quick defeat of the smaller Union force engaged.

Southern officers have written that the Union force in this battle far exceeded the Confederates; and that the far-famed Battle of the Clouds was largely a pretty fiction. It is well to bear in mind the facts that those writers much underestimate the number of Confederates engaged; also that but a part of those who started with Slocum's men who composed only a very small division, participated particularly in the engagements. It was the able directions of Geary, the impetuous Colonel Ireland and his inspired men, ably supported by the steadfast Cobham and Candy, to whom the victory is due. The Confederate General John B. Gordon wrote in his Reminiscences that "Whatever may be its proper designation, it was a most creditable affair to both sides." Also that "The conception of moving upon an unknown force located in such a series of strongholds was bold and most creditable to the high soldierly qualities of General

Geary and the men who moved at his command through the fogs and up the steeps.'' Gordon, like most other writers, gives all the honor to General Hooker who did not plan the action and who was during all of the time of its execution several miles distant from the field of action. The credit is due to General Slocum who made these soldiers for this work, all of whom were under the command of his trustworthy General Geary. Each one, and all of them deserve the honor of the brilliant results at Wauhatchie and Lookout Mountain; also of their brilliant work at Missionary Ridge, and throughout the Chattanooga-Atlantic campaign. Much of this brilliant work was done, however, notwithstanding the gross mistakes, unfortunately, of Hooker, as have previously been several times shown, and will be later necessarily referred to from high authority.

CHAPTER XXIX

Battles of Missionary Ridge and Ringgold

In accordance with General Hooker's order received from General Thomas, General Geary's division of Slocum's corps, took up the march about 10 o'clock A. M. of November 25th in pursuit of the retreating foe. The route of his retreat led down Lookout Mountain to Chattanooga Creek. Here about three hours were passed by the Union forces in building a bridge in place of one burned by the enemy. There was some artillery opposition by the enemy a little beyond the creek, but his guns were soon silenced, and one was captured.

At three P. M. when near Rossville Gap, Georgia, Hooker, who was now with the column, directed Geary to turn to the left and follow the trend of the western base of Missionary Ridge in a northeasterly direction. The left of the Union army was at this time hotly engaged with the enemy on the knobs a little to the north. Geary's division of Slocum's men pressed forward, with their five batteries, until much in advance of his supporters (Generals Charles Cruft on the crest of the ridge and Osterhaus along the eastern base) then forming his three small brigades, Cobham and Creighton's along the base in column of regiments, and Ireland's in support of the artillery, Geary opened Captain

Landgraeber's horse artillery upon the flank and rear of the enemy's lines, compelling him to fall back, Cruft and Osterhaus following after him. Geary, now seeing another opportunity, continued a brisk artillery fire while he reformed his lines in brigades, Creighton's in front and Cobham's second, and marched them rapidly up the craggy side of the ridge, moving obliquely to effect proper junction with Major-General John M. Palmer's right of the IVth Army Corps of Thomas's troops, which was then just discerned approaching a half mile to the north. Slocum's men under Geary were thoroughly imbued with enthusiasm for quick and more active participation in the battle, and Geary had to exert his commanding power to hold them back to prudent pace. The enemy was losing ground. As he attempted to make a new stand at the front, Geary's artillery would open anew on his flank, throwing him into worse confusion. Geary's skirmishers were also doing active work; and now his line gained the summit through the crags and arrested the flight of Confederate Stuard's (?) brigade of Breckenridge's corps just as the Union General Richard W. Johnson's division of Palmer's corps arrived on the crest at the left. The Union victory was decisive; the battlefield of Missionary Ridge, many prisoners, guns, and colors were in possession of the victors. General Geary, with his division, descended to the western base of the ridge and there bivouacked for the night in the vacated enemy's winter quarters. Several hundred more prisoners were brought in by the strong lines of night guards.

The next morning at 10 o'clock, November 26th, General Hooker directed his command forward on the line of retreat of Confederate General Bragg's army in the following order: General Osterhaus's division of Sherman's XVth Army Corps in front; General Geary's division of Slocum's XIIth Army Corps in the center; and General Cruft's division of the IVth Army Corps in the rear. The direction was southeasterly, through Rossville Gap and along the road toward Graysville. West Chickamauga Creek was crossed by the troops over a foot bridge. The horses swam across, and the artillery awaited the arrival of the pontoon bridge.

The entire route showed evidences of the rapid pace of the enemy and of his great efforts to facilitate his escape. Aban-

doned artillery caissons and limbers filled with ammunition, broken wagons, camp equipment, tents, arms, accouterments, burning wagon trains and supplies, filled and lined the road. All the bridges for miles had been destroyed by fire. The enemy had bivouacked for a time in the night. His fires were yet burning in places, and numerous stragglers were captured there. General Geary deployed detachments of troops through the brush, which captured several secreted parties of the enemy, some of them surrendering without opposition.

At evening twilight it was necessary to halt for the building of a bridge over Pea Vine Creek. Here the rear guard of General John C. Breckenridge's command was discovered. General Geary formed his division in line of battle on both sides of the main road, and advanced. The result was the capture by him of three cannon of Ferguson's battery with the gunners and part of their infantry support. The desire of the main body of the enemy was to get away as fast as possible, which he did without waiting to fire a gun.

The Union forces crossed the creek, and proceeded through Chickamauga Swamp about ten P. M. It was then ascertained that the enemy had forces on Pigeon Hills nearby. General Osterhaus advanced and, meeting the enemy's skirmishers, Creighton's brigade of Slocum's men hastened forward and formed in line on a road at the base of the hills at right angle with the Ringgold Road. Cobham's brigade was placed in line in open field about three hundred yards to the rear. Geary's skirmishers were at once advanced to the hills which they scaled and drove the rear guard of the enemy from the heights. It was now late, the night was dark, the country was strange to the Union troops, and they prudently bivouacked at the base of Pigeon Hills.

The march was resumed the next day at daybreak, in the same order as before. It led over the Pigeon Hills and across ranges of hills beyond. Many prisoners were taken before arriving at the bivouac fires of the retreating forces of Breckenridge, about two miles from the bivouac of the pursuers. At eight A. M. Slocum's men, under Geary, arrived at Ringgold, Georgia, and marched through the town with quickened step under musketry fire of the enemy, from the bridge beyond, which wounded several

men. The preceding afternoon and night Confederate General Braxton Bragg's army had retreated along the Western and Atlantic Railway through a gap in Taylor's Ridge which is much higher than the Missionary Ridge and with very steep and precipitous sides. Bragg had left, among the timber and rocks on the top of Taylor's Ridge, Major-General Patrick R. Cleburne's division of Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee's corps, to hold this important gap. General Hooker, now with the Union troops, directed Osterhaus to attack the enemy in front; and Hooker directed Geary to move one brigade of Slocum's men to the left, to scale the ridge, attack the enemy in flank, and to charge along the ridge with vigor. Creighton's brigade, which was sent in advance, was soon met by the much stronger enemy's fire poured upon it from heights five hundred feet above while the men were, with the other difficulties of the steep ascent, making slow progress. Creighton's fire was withheld until he was half way up and within close range when his musketry had disastrous effect on the enemy, who, with great advantage in freedom from fatigue and in reloading, returned fire with greater rapidity. The enemy was now reinforced against Creighton and in effort to change his line the enemy succeeded in enfilading and compelling its retirement, which was, however, slow. Twelve of its thirteen officers, and nearly half of the men of the Seventh Ohio Volunteer Regiment taken into this action were killed or disabled. The steadfast Lieutenant-Colonel Crane was among the killed. The 147th Pennsylvania Volunteers gained a position on the left near the top of the ridge, it being somewhat protected behind a ledge of rocks. Here both of its flanks being soon endangered by the retirement of the 7th Ohio and the enemy's advance over the crest, it was ordered to retire. The 28th Pennsylvania and 66th Ohio on the Union right, being more protected by the contour, gained position within forty yards of the ridge's crest, but could not advance further without being captured dead or alive by the far more numerous foe watching them. They were ordered by General Geary to retire, and to reform their line near the base of the ridge. In this retiring movement the brave Colonel Creighton was killed by the foe.

Cobham's small brigade of Slocum's men was massed on the edge of the town of Ringgold toward Taylor's Ridge. The enemy

soon pressed back some of Osterhaus's regiments on the right, and Geary sent Cobham to their support. He so hotly engaged the enemy as to cause their retirement for reforming lines. Upon Cobham's forward movement Geary called Ireland's brigade from its reserve position in Ringgold and formed it in column of regiments in mass at Cobham's former position. The battle continued in front. At 10.40 A. M. the enemy concentrated his artillery and infantry on Osterhaus's right which began to give away with danger of the flank being turned. Geary at once ordered Ireland's brigade on the double-quick to drive back the enemy on that quarter. Ireland's small but very effective force ran rapidly and compactly across a clear swampy space of nearly half a mile, turned to the left along the Catoosa Creek, passed Osterhaus's hard pressed men, toward Taylor's Ridge Gap, and hastily formed a line of battle with its 149th New York Volunteers for his right at an old barn in the lowland by the creek, and the 137th New York for his left, on the railway adjoining Cobham's right. These troops continued the battle at close quarters with their characteristic energy and soon compelled a check of the enemy whose active sharpshooters abounded on both sides of the gap, and whose cannon were hurling shell and grape. Confederate Cleburne's men had the reputation of 'being hard to drive' but they had not before met Slocum's men who possessed the reputation of both driving and winning—and they won here, the enemy being soon compelled to seek protection on the ridge and out of the range of Slocum's men. A piece of Confederate artillery, with infantry supports, was brought to the edge of the woods, and within one hundred yards of Ireland's line. A detachment of sharpshooters from the 149th New York at once began to drop the artillerists and their protectors, and the others retreated hastily. Others of the enemy advanced several times with like result. A company finally succeeded in drawing away the gun, losing several of their men in so doing. It was necessary for the officers to restrain the desire of Slocum's men to charge the foe on Taylor's Ridge. Such effort was thought by General Geary very dangerous, and unnecessary.

Ireland and Cobham maintained their positions, with occasional sharp skirmishing, until Major John Reynolds, Chief of Slocum's artillery, arrived at midday with his necessarily de-

tained batteries. One section of Knap's Pennsylvania battery was wheeled into position near Ireland's right, in front of the gap, and one section of Landgraeber's 12-pounder howitzers was placed on Knap's right. The fire of the enemy's sharpshooters was now directed at the gunners who soon silenced the enemy's efforts and drove back his supporters. Another section of Knap's battery had been placed by Geary's order on the railway at the Union left and in front of the massing enemy. All of these guns did excellent work and, at one P. M., the enemy showing evidences of withdrawing, Osterhaus was now directed to send several of his regiments upon the ridge to speed the foe's departure, or to capture him. Ireland sent his skirmishers into the gap where the 149th New York captured two flags, one being the guidon of the companies of the enemy's artillery. A number of prisoners were also captured. General Geary complained of the barbarous treatment by the enemy of some of his wounded and helpless men at Ringgold. They were robbed of all clothing and valuables, and left thus exposed to the cold mountain air.

This series of skirmishes at Ringgold lasted about five hours. Skirmishers were sent after the retreating foe. They stopped the destruction of bridges, and captured additional prisoners which were added to former lists and sent to Chattanooga.

General Geary appointed a provost guard for Ringgold which, in accordance with Hooker's orders, destroyed the manufactories, tanneries, and mills, likely to be serviceable to the enemy.

Hospitals for the wounded and sick were opened in Ringgold; and soldiers were quartered in forsaken houses of the town during the inclement weather.

General Geary reported the depleted numbers composing his Second Division of the XIIth Corps of Slocum's men as follows: In Battle of Lookout Mountain, 1st Brigade 58 officers and 952 enlisted men; IInd Brigade, 36 officers and 538 men; IIIrd Brigade, 47 officers and 728 men. In the Battles of Missionary Ridge and Ringgold: 49 officers and 845 men; 33 officers and 438 men; 37 officers and 587 men, respectively.

The casualties of Slocum's men were remarkably light, namely: In the Battle of Lookout Mountain, 2 officers and 20 enlisted men were killed, and 14 officers and 102 enlisted men

wounded. In the Battle of Ringgold, 5 officers were killed and 29 enlisted men; and 19 officers and 150 men were wounded. The casualties of the enemy were far greater as then reported, namely: Left on the field, Lookout Mountain, 125 killed and 300 wounded; at Ringgold, 130 killed. The enemy buried many of his killed, and carried away most of his wounded. Prisoners taken by Slocum's men numbered 1,940 on Lookout Mountain; between 600 and 700 on Missionary Ridge, and 230 at Ringgold. There were captured on Lookout Mountain 2,800 stand of arms, two cannon, five battle flags, fifty officers' swords; with 1,000 intrenching tools, and large quantities of supplies.[67]

The writer will now let Charles A. Dana, of New York, Assistant Secretary of War, who was on the battle-field of Missionary Ridge, tell what he observed and learned: "Battle of yesterday [November 25th] was fought by corps of Hardee (late Polk's) and Breckenridge, twenty-five to thirty thousand men in all. Hardee was before Sherman; Breckenridge before Thomas [whose forces included Slocum's men]. Breckenridge was with Bragg at the moment of the rout, and they escaped together. The storming of the ridge was one of the greatest miracles in military history. No man who climbs the ascent by any of the roads that wind along its front can believe that eighteen thousand men were moved up its broken and crumbling face unless it was his fortune to witness the deed. It seems as awful as a visible interposition of God. Neither Grant nor Thomas intended it. Their orders were to carry the rifle-pits along the base of the ridge and capture their occupants, but when this was accomplished the unaccountable spirit of the troops bore them bodily up those impracticable steeps, over the bristling rifle-pits on the crest and the thirty cannon enfilading every gully."

Under date of November 28th, Dana further wrote from Ringgold: "Yesterday the first great fault in this admirable campaign occurred at this place. General Hooker arrived here about nine A. M. with Geary's division, Twelfth Corps, Osterhaus's division of Sherman's army, lately commanded by Woods, and two divisions Fourteenth Corps under Palmer. The enemy was drawn up in a narrow gorge where the railroad passes between Taylor's Ridge on the right and White Oak Ridge on the left, the two ridges being in fact but parts of the same range of hills.

It was a very dangerous defile to attack in front, and common sense plainly dictated that it should be turned. This could be done without difficulty by way of White Oak Ridge, which can be passed with ease in many places, while Taylor's Ridge is steeper, though infinitely easier to go over, than Missionary Ridge at Chattanooga. However, Hooker attacked in front, and the result was officially reported by him last night in the loss of five hundred killed and wounded, where there was no necessity of losing fifty! Having been repulsed in his first attempt Hooker tried to turn the position, but in this blundered yet worse, for he sent his troops through the nearest gap in White Oak Ridge, not more than half a mile distant from the gorge, where the movement was fully visible to the enemy, and where they had time to prepare a destructive cross-fire, which made this attack quite as fatal as the former. Having thus failed in this flank movement, in which the Twelfth Missouri lost nearly all its officers, he sent Geary's troops again at the front, and finally carried it by Geary's New York regiments of Slocum's men."[68]

CHAPTER XXX

Discipline. Guerrillas. Reinlisting Veterans

General Geary, with his division of Slocum's men, left Ringgold, Georgia, December 1st, and marched to Chattanooga, where they were shown special honor two days later in a review by Major-Generals U. S. Grant, G. H. Thomas, M. C. Hunter, Daniel Butterfield, and others, who were accompanied by a large cavalcade of staff officers. General Geary and his command were in fairly good physical condition considering the severe work and strain of mind and body of the preceding ten days. With their shaved faces, new uniforms, and arms all in excellent condition, they won high commendation for the precision of their marchings and evolutions. They soon returned to their former encampment in Lookout Valley.

Charges were here made against a member of one of the Pennsylvania regiments of gross unsoldierly conduct by robbing the clothing of the dead on the battle-field of Lookout Mountain. He was accorded a fair trial before a court-martial which, upon

due evidence, sentenced him to be dishonorably discharged from the army, and drummed out of camp. The soldiers now comprising the three brigades of Slocum's second division were formed in hollow square, and their dishonored comrade was marched to the middle of the square, and seated for the barber's work in the punishment. An eye and ear witness described this work, and the parting as follows: "General Geary approached, and a scene followed which can only be appreciated by those who knew the man [Geary] and his fiery temper. He commenced an address to the culprit by saying he was sorry any man in his division, and especially from his native State, had been guilty of the damnable crime of profanation of the dead. Here his temper gave way, and then followed a tirade of invectives, curses, abuse, and an exhibition that was frightful. The barber was paralyzed, the guards dumbfounded, and the members of the division, if not of heroes, would have taken to cover. The General, however, must have forgotten himself, for he did not boot the man, who looked disappointed at the omission. When this diatribe was over, the barber finished shaving the man's head, and removed his mustache, beard, and eyebrows. The culprit, led by a drum and fife playing the 'Rogue's March' and followed by the guards with 'charge bayonets,' was then marched up and down the division lines weeping like a child. The men were encouraged to jeer when the procession passed, but they remained silent. When the march was over the culprit, like the 'scape goat' of old bearing the sins of the nation, was let loose in the wilderness of Wauhatchie and he was never heard of afterward."[63] The reader may remember, in extenuation, that Geary's sensibilities were yet exceedingly sensitive from the loss of his son in the Battle of Wauhatchie.

Early in December, the 60th and the 149th New York Volunteer Infantry Regiments marched to General Hooker's headquarters accompanied by General Geary and Colonel Henry A. Barnum who, in short addresses, presented the six flags captured from the enemy by this division on Lookout Mountain and atRinggold, these being the only colors captured in these engagements. Major-General Butterfield, Chief of Staff, received the flags, and complimented the work of the division highly. In recognition of the valuable services of Colonel Barnum and his 149th New York

Regiment he was deputized to take the flags to the War Department in Washington, with permission to exhibit them in the principal cities along the way.

The term of enlistment of many regiments was about to expire, and the work of reorganization was now begun. During December twenty regiments of the Army of the Cumberland reinlisted as Veteran Volunteers. All of the old regiments of Major-General Slocum's 1st Division of the XII Corps reinlisted and, up to January 1st, the following named regiments reinlisted in Slocum's Second Division, viz.: The 60th, 78th and 102nd New York Volunteer Infantry; the 29th and 60th Ohio, and the 28th, 29th, 111th and 147 Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry.

General Slocum's first division remained in control of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railway, mainly from Murfreesborough, Tennessee, to Stevenson, Alabama, for some length of time, and then his extended line was contracted on the north to Bellbuckle.

After the Union victories about Chattanooga and northern Georgia, bushwhackers and guerrillas became more numerous again, and more insinuating by connivance with many of the old residents through the country near the railway who joined the annoying force as 'rangers.' Between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening of December 23rd, a United States wagon became detached from a foraging train within a mile and a half of the village of Mulberry, Lincoln County, Tennessee, and the officer in command of the foraging party, First Lieutenant Porter, Company A, 27th Indiana Volunteers, the teamster, wagon-master, and two other soldiers who had been sent to load the train (the last named four unarmed) were captured by guerrillas who started with their captives for the Elk River by a way to avoid meeting any comrades of the captured. About one o'clock in the morning the party halted on bank of the Elk, the prisoners being told they were going into camp for the night. They submitted to the tieing of their hands behind them; but they did not submit so quietly while being robbed of everything of value, and while being aligned a few paces distant as targets for their captors, all of whom immediately shot at them. One was instantly killed by ball through his head, and three were wounded. Lieutenant Porter, not being wounded, ran, was closely followed, was

fired upon and, jumping over a precipitous bank into the river, succeeded in getting his hands loose, and by great exertion and exposure in the cold evaded his pursuers and finally met friends who took him to Tullahoma in a critical condition. The wounded were thrown into the river thus completing the murder of three: Newell E. Orcutt of the Ninth Independent Battery Ohio Volunteer Artillery, John W. Drought of Company H, and George W. Jacobs of Company D, 22nd Wisconsin Volunteers. The other wounded man, James W. Foley of the Ninth Independent Battery Ohio Volunteer Artillery, succeeded in getting his hands free in the river, although severely wounded, and was finally picked up by his comrades.

These barbarous acts were at once reported to General Slocum with the names of the guerrillas suspected of committing the crime; also the names of citizens sympathizing with them and harboring them. Slocum ordered all of these people, who could be found, placed in arrest, and he reported all the names and circumstances to General Thomas, who also acted promptly. He assessed all Confederate sympathizers living within a circuit of ten miles of the place where these men were captured, according to their wealth to make up a sum to be divided in ten thousand dollar portions to the widow of John W. Drought of North Cape, Racine County, Wisconsin, for the support of herself and two children; to the widow of George W. Jacobs, of Delevan, Walworth County, Wisconsin, for the support of herself and one child; and the third ten thousand dollars to be divided between the aged mother and sister, of Newell E. Orcutt of Burton, Geauga County, Ohio. General Thomas's General Orders Number 6, also provided for the punishment of the murderers and their sympathizers. These orders also include the statement that "Major-General H. W. Slocum, United States Volunteers, commanding XIIth Army Corps, is charged with the execution of this order" of collecting and distributing the pecuniary penalty. These orders also provided for the execution of the murderers when caught, and for arrest and trial by military commission of those who aided, abetted, or harbored these guerrillas. Several of the latter had already been arrested by order of General Slocum. As in all other of his undertakings, Slocum was a successfull collector of General Thomas's assessment, much of the

amount being paid in gold and, February 16th, he reported a surplus of $5,654.57 in his possession therefrom, it resulting from unexpected sources and from higher price than expected for cotton sold. This surplus was divided, $2,500 each, between the families of two soldiers of the 150th New York Volunteer Infantry who were killed by guerrillas a few days before Slocum's report; and the $654.57 was divided between certain persons who should not have been assessed, and those who assisted in the collection. Colonel John H. Ketcham was deputized to take the amounts to the New York families, and Captain W. W. Moseley to deliver the amounts to the Wisconsin families.

The first days of January, General Slocum directed General Geary to send one regiment of his second division from Lookout Valley to Stevenson, Alabama, and three regiments strong to Bridgeport for defensive duty along the intervening railway line.

On January 11th, Brigadier-General Joseph F. Knipe, then in command of Major-General Slocum's Ist Division of the XIIth Corps, with headquarters at Tullahoma, Tennessee, reported the condition of the defenses of the division practically as follows: A redoubt one mile south of Bellbuckle, Tennessee, and one at Tank, two and a half miles north of Wartrace, were completed. The former was garrisoned by two companies and the latter by one company of the 107th New York Volunteers. The stockade at Wartrace was not completed, the force there being inadequate for the work. The other defenses at that point were completed and garrisoned by 80 men of the 3rd Wisconsin and one company of the 107th New York Volunteers. Rations and supplies at all of these places were sufficient for seven days.

Defenses at the bridges one mile south of Wartrace were completed, and the garrison of two companies of the 140th New York Volunteers had over one week's ration and supplies in hand. The railway tanks, at Duck River and two miles south, were inside the defenses with rations and supplies for ten days. In the garrison at the former point there were nine companies of the 13th New Jersey Volunteers and at the latter one company of the same regiment. A stockade at Normandy and a blockhouse two miles south were completed; the former was garrisoned by seven companies and the latter by one company of the 150th

New York Regiment. The defenses at Tullahoma were sufficient and well garrisoned. This point had a large supply of rations in the commissary depot. The post at Elk River, and one at the railway tank one mile north of the river, were garrisoned by about 160 men, five companies of their comrades of the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment being then on furlough as reinlisted Veteran Volunteers. The above mentioned garrisons were all of the IIIrd Brigade, Ist Division of the XII Corps. The Ist Brigade was mainly stationed at Decherd and Cowan in ample defenses. The garrison at Tantalon had been recently changed by substituting the 20th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry for the 145th New York whose term of enlistment had expired. The artillery remained at Stevenson and Bridgeport, Alabama, with the Infantry of the IInd Division.

The soldiers, who were not well protected against inclement weather in blockhouse or other fortification, built for themselves log cabins that well served their purpose.

CHAPTER XXXI

Social Amenities. Goes to Vicksburg

Shelbyville, Tennessee, though not on the main line of railway, was a county capitol and one of the largest towns subject to Confederate raids and despoliation. The 107th New York Volunteer Infantry was sent to protect this city and it was there well received, and the soldiers vied with the citizens in making their sojourn pleasant to each other. The soldiers were invited to parties and dances; and they prevailed upon their brigade commander, General Thomas H. Ruger, for a visit of their brigade band of music, which pleased the people very much. Major-General Slocum, with headquarters then at Tullahoma, was also prevailed upon to attend one of the social meetings and he, with his staff officers, had a pleasant evening. It is probable, however, that some guerrillas and other plotters took advantage of the fraternal feeling thus engendered to forward their schemes; but they had run their course; General Slocum having learned more of them during his visit to Shelbyville.

The Abstract of the returns of the Department and Army

of the Cumberland for the month of January, shows the strength of the XIIth Army Corps as follows:

General Slocum's headquarters at Tullahoma, present for duty, 13 officers and 150 enlisted men; aggregate present 232.

His 1st Division, headquarters also at Tullahoma, present for duty 176 officers and 4,734 men; aggregate present and absent 7,469 men, and 20 pieces of field artillery.

The IInd Division, headquarters at Bridgeport, Alabama, present for duty 43 officers and 1,810 enlisted men; aggregate present and absent 7,318 men, with ten pieces of artillery.

Total present, and absent in field hospitals, home on sick, or other furlough, and detached for special duty, 232 officers and 15,019 men, with 30 pieces of artillery.

Inasmuch as General Slocum was not reporting to General Hooker, who was yet nominally his commanding general, the following historical document was addressed to General Thomas's headquarters. It shows the injustice that had been, and was yet being, done to Slocum; and that he was not at this time the only commander dissatisfied with the order of things then prevailing, namely:

Headquarters Twelfth Corps,
Tullahoma, Tenn., February 2, 1864.

Brig. Gen. WILLIAM D. WHIPPLE, GEN. G. H. THOMAS'S
Chief of Staff, Hdqrs. Department of the Cumberland.

GENERAL: Believing that the organization known as the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps, now under command of Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker, was not designed by His Excellency the President to be a permanent organization, and being convinced by the instructions given by him to General Rosecrans, then in command of the Army of the Cumberland, that it was not his design or desire that the Twelfth Corps should in any event continue a part of the organization, I desire respectfully to call the attention of the commanding general to the subject. I think the only instance in any army of the United States in which an officer has occupied a position intermediate between that of corps commander and the commanding general of the army, occurred in the Army of the Potomac, which by order of General Burnside was organized into what were termed grand divisions, consisting of two corps each; which grand divisions were commanded by the senior general officers present with the army. The order constituting these divisions specified the powers intrusted to their respective commanders. (General Orders, No. 184, headquarters Army of the Potomac, November 14, 1862).[69]

After an experience of less than two months, General Hooker, then commanding the Army of the Potomac, discontinued this organization,

announcing in paragraph I, General Orders No. 6, headquarters Army of the Potomac, February 5, 1863: 'The division of the army into 'grand divisions' impeding rather than facilitating the dispatch of its current business, and the character of the service it is liable to be called upon to perform being adverse to the movement and operations of heavy columns, it is discontinued, and the corps organization is adopted in its stead.'

If the fact that the appointment of a commander to a position intermediate between that of corps commander and the general commanding the army, he being authorized by the War Department to take final action on certain matters previously referred to the commanding general, had a tendency to 'impede rather than facilitate business' I respectfully submit that the appointment of a commander to a similar position without authorizing him to take final action on any matters cannot tend very strongly to expedite current business.

But whatever may be thought of the expediency of the system of organizations of this character, it cannot be denied that, if adopted, it should be general. As the matter now stands, although I am senior in rank and have served in the capacity of corps commander for a longer period than any officer in command of a corps in this army, yet so far as communicating with the general commanding the army is concerned, I am in precisely the position held by a division commander of other corps.

If the general commanding does not feel authorized to make any change in the organization of the army, so as to place me in a position similar to that held by other corps commanders, I respectfully request that this communication may be forwarded, together with a copy of the letter from his Excellency to General Rosecrans, to which reference is made.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

H. W. Slocum,

Major-General of Volunteers, Commanding.

This communication was referred to General Thomas who sent it to General Hooker who endorsed it in Lookout Valley, 'Respectfully forwarded, with the request that it be referred to the War Department' and he returned it to General Thomas who endorsed it 'Respectfully fordwarded through headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi.' Upon its being read by General Grant, he appended his, the third, endorsement which was as follows:

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi,
Nashville, Tenn., February 9, 1864.

Respectfully forwarded and attention invited to General Slocum's statement.

The position occupied by General Hooker is embarrassing to the service, and I think injurious. I am inclined rather to recommend that the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps be filled up from new levies to having them

consolidated, but what to do with General Hooker is the question. I have no command to give him at present. While the States north of the Ohio were in my command I recommended that they be called one district and General Hooker placed in command. They are now a separate department.

U. S. GRANT,
Major-General.[9]

General Slocum's letter, bearing its several endorsements, on being received in Washington was handed to Major-General H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief of all the armies. He replied to General Grant, acknowledging its receipt and stating that it had been submitted to the Secretary of War, with the closing sentence that "This arrangement having been made directly by the President, I have no authority to effect any change"—and he might as well have added, neither has the Secretary of War. However, preparations were being made for a decided change in general and in particular, that pleased President Lincoln.

All of the principal Confederate commanders were commissioned lieutenant-generals, each independent of the others and all outranking the major-generals. The United States had had but one lieutenant-general, George Washington, the commission of Winfield Scott as such reading by brevet. March 1st, the Congress revived this title for the commander of all the armies of the United States. President Lincoln at once approved, and nominated Ulysses S. Grant for the place, and the Senate confirmed the appointment the next day. This law, with its necessary general adjustments, was promulgated by the War Department March 12th, announcing that Major-General H. W. Halleck was relieved from duty as General-in-Chief at his own request and that Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant was assigned to the command of the armies, with headquarters in Washington and, also, with him in the field. Hallack was assigned to duty in Washington as Chief of Grant's Staff.

Major-General William T. Sherman was assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, composed of the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas, this vacancy resulting from the promotion of Grant. Major-General James D. McPherson was assigned to the command of the Department, and Army of the Tennessee, previously held by Sherman.

General Grant issued his General Orders Number One from Nashville, March 17th, assuming command of the armies of the United States, with headquarters in the field and, until further orders, with the Army of the Potomac. All communications to him except those from the army, were to be sent to the office headquarters, Washington, District of Columbia.

Reports of the enemy becoming more active in many places, General Slocum's scouts ranged to the Sequatchie Valley, from the way of LaFayette, Georgia, to the southward, and they found no material indications of the enemy. General Slocum also sent scouts in different directions, and made personal visits to the parts of the railway under his immediate command, and he was thereby enabled to report directly to General Grant February 27th, that the fords were well guarded, the field works were well garrisoned, and all parts of the line were in good condition. The general report of his XIIth Corps for February was but little different from that of January.

In the meantime work had been in progress preparatory to advancing on the Atlanta Campaign. Hundreds of men were at work repairing the railway from Chattanooga to Ringgold. At this time Slocum was asked to send 'a brigade in numbers if not in organization' to the defense of the Columbia and Decatur railway, Tennessee, against Confederate General N. B. Forrest's men. March 18th Slocum's XIIth Corps was therefore, reported in detachments stationed at Fort Donelson, Clarksville, Gallatin, Nashville, and along the Nashville and Chattanooga railway as far south as Bridgeport, Alabama. This same day General Geary reported to Slocum that he had just returned from a reconnoissance to Trenton, Alabama, and southward without learning of any gathering or special activity of the enemy in that direction. He had captured six Confederate soldiers who had separated from Cleburne's division.

On March 24th Slocum was directed by Thomas, who was yet at Chattanooga, to come to the front with all of his command not needed for garrison duty at Nashville, Murfreesborough, and at blockhouses further south. The 30th General Slocum was yet at Tullahoma, his headquarters, and he was informed that Colonel J. B. Weaver, commanding the post at Pulaski, Tennessee, was ordered to send the Confederate Lieutenant Mosely and all

of his company of General Nathan B. Forrest's scouts, who had been captured, under strong guard to Slocum by rail, by way of Nashville. Mosely was wounded, but surgeon March reported him able to travel. The report of Slocum's XIIth Army Corps for March showed a small increase in number over previous months.

Lieutenant-General Grant assigned Major-General Slocum April 4th, to command the fortified post and District of Vicksburg, Mississippi, he to report to Major-General James B. McPherson whose headquarters for the time were at Huntsville, Alabama. This appointment was made while Grant was in Washington and by the consent if not by the direction of President Lincoln.

In Sherman's communication to McPherson April 6th he wrote that 'Slocum will be a good commander for Vicksburg and Natchez.' McPherson replied the 8th 'I think the assignment of Major-General Slocum to the command of the District of Vicksburg an excellent arrangement.' In another communication to McPherson the 11th of April, Sherman told more of the motive of Slocum's appointment as follows: "Slocum's assignment to Vicksburg was made at Grant's [and he might have added, Lincoln's] suggestion. I did name Newton, having in mind his engineering qualities, but Grant feared Newton might entertain a natural prejudice against the negro element which will hereafter enter so largely into the means of defense to the Mississippi River."

The communications between Sherman and McPherson were frank and cordial. A letter from Sherman about this time states that their great problem in hand was to defeat Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston which required a 'surplus' of their best troops on the line of the Tennessee. When Johnston was defeated more attention could be given to the Mississippi. This condition foreboded no easy task to General Slocum.

The evening of April 7th the officers of the different regiments on duty at Tullahoma, with the brigade band, marched to General Slocum's headquarters to show their great regard for him, and to express regrets for his departure from them. They were made welcome by Slocum, and the freedom of the house and grounds was extended to them. Colonel William Cogswell,

of the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment, made a warm address, and General Slocum replied in kind.

General Slocum voiced his regard for his command two days later, as follows:

Headquarters Twelfth Army Corps,
Tullahoma, Tenn., April 9, 1864.

General Orders, No. 7.

By virtue of General Orders, No. 5, Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps are consolidated, and will hereafter compose the First [later changed to the Twentieth] Army Corps.

The official history of the Twelfth Army Corps, from its organization to the present day, and particularly its action at Antietam, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and its recent services in the Department of the Cumberland, justifies every soldier in the indulgence of a feeling of pride from his connection with it and of regret at the loss of the insignia by which the corps has been distinguished, and which has become a badge of honor. [The Twentieth Corps succeeded in retaining the star as its corps badge].

This consolidation separates me from the troops with whom I have been identified for the past eighteen months. I know, however, that the measure has been adopted solely with a view of promoting the interest of the service, and I would not have my personal interests or feelings, nor those of my command, considered for a moment against any measure having this object in view.

The credit accorded to the soldier at the present hour is not his true reward for the privation and hardships he is enduring, nor does this reward depend upon the army or corps to which he may be attached. Let us bring this contest to a successful termination; let us restore peace and prosperity to the country. To him who loves his country, and the consciousness of the fact that he has borne his part in the contest, and been an instrument in the accomplishment of great work, will be the highest and best reward that can be bestowed upon him.

The cordial and earnest support afforded me upon all occasions by the officers of my command, and the soldierly bearing and uniform good conduct of the men, have rendered me deeply attached to my corps, and I leave it with feelings of profound regret.

H. W. Slocum,
Major-General.

Official: H. C. Rodgers,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Badge of the XVIIth Army Corps

CHAPTER XXXII

Commands Vicksburg. General Orders

General Slocum reported to General McPherson April 12th, for duty, and then his District of Vicksburg, Mississippi, was further outlined to him as extending from the mouth of the Arkansas River on the west side of the Mississippi, and the Tallahatchie River on the east side, down to the Department of the Gulf. His headquarters were to be at Vicksburg.

The troops for his District of Vicksburg were nominally the XVIIth Army Corps, which was in various size bodies widely separated, two divisions being at Cairo, Illinois. General Slocum called on General Sherman at Nashville when on his way to Cairo for the purpose of getting into personal touch with his men and the condition of affairs generally. We next learn of him at Woodville in southern Mississippi whence he telegraphed to Sherman April 17th. He then proceeded to Vicksburg, where he organized a force for advancement through the Yazoo City region, and toward Grenada, for the purpose of preventing the sending of Confederate General Stephen D. Lee's cavalry to the northward to aid General Forrest, or to the eastward to aid General Johnston. Slocum also saw the necessity for frequent excursions and demonstrations in different directions, and from different stations of his troops. He kept in communication with the Marine Brigade, and other gun boats within and near his district, and he commanded their operations. Detachments of troops were sent toward Clinton, Raymond, and other points where Confederate troops and disaffection, were reported, or likely to be found. From Natchez, also, frequent detours were made on both sides of the Mississippi.

General Slocum continuously held the line of the Big Black River from its mouth up to Birdsong's Ferry and thence across to Haynes's Bluff, which controlled the Yazoo River and its vicinity. Vicksburg and Natchez were his principal stations. Small isolated bodies of troops were not left long anywhere for roaming bodies of the enemy's cavalry to capture.

General Slocum was also the War Department's protector of the freedmen, and particularly in their leasing, and working, the plantations which had been abandoned by their owners, ac-

cording to the policy of the United States Government. Of course he could consider this question, and act for the freedmen's protection, only from the military standpoint; and he did not have sufficient force of soldiers to spread through the country generally for police work.

There were in the larger towns of his district not a few men engaged in different kinds of business who were expecting, claiming the right of, protection by General Slocum. He decided they should be organized into Home Guard companies with United States officers from his command, who should regularly drill them and hold them to strict military discipline under himself. Drill rooms, caps, and blouses were provided and, later, arms and other accouterments were provided those who withstood the tests, and remained.

General Sherman sent notice to Slocum April 21st that no special distant expeditions need be made by him until he had reason to believe the main armies were in motion against the enemy when "all the forces of the United States should occupy the detachments of the enemy as much as possible." The main stations of General Slocum's XVIIth Army Corps were: Vicksburg and Natchez divisions, the Ist with 6,461 white troops, and the IInd with 7,775 negro troops. The IIIrd and IVth Divisions, each composed of about 6,000 white troops, were temporarily rendezvoused at Cairo, Illinois.

General Sherman asked General McPherson April 24th to give Generals Slocum of Vicksburgh and C. C. Washburn of Memphis "orders to seem most active; to hold there all of the enemy possible, even at a small risk to the river; for if we whip Joe Johnston good, everything lying west will feel the blow. . . The worst we have to apprehend is that the Confederate General Forrest in Tennessee may come across to act against our right flank; but this would be prevented if Washburn and Slocum threaten Grenada, Mississippi.

Major-General Hurlbut who was stationed at Cairo and was supervising all movements of troops from the North against Forrest, wrote to General Washburn April 30th that by his stopping the 4th Iowa Cavalry en route to Vicksburg he had exceeded his authority and probably crippled General Slocum. The resourcefulness of Slocum, however, enabled him to so manage that the

service of his immediate command was not particularly crippled by Mansfield's interference.

At this time the XVIIth Army Corps was described as follows:

Major-General Henry W. Slocum at Vicksburg, with the 1st Division under Brigadier-General Elias S. Dennis, and composed of:

The 1st Brigade, Colonel F. A. Starling; with the 72nd Illinois regiment of Volunteer Infantry, Colonel Joseph Stockton; 1st Kansas, mounted, Lieutenant-Colonel Newell W. Spicer; 30th Missouri, Captain William T. Wilkinson; 58th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Ezra P. Jackson. IInd Brigade, Colonel James H. Coates; with the 11th Illinois, Major George C. McKee; 95th Illinois (on the Red River Campaign) Colonel Thomas W. Humphrey; 14th Wisconsin, Colonel Lyman M. Ward.

Artillery, Captain William H. Bolton, with the 2nd Illinois Light, Battery L, Captain William H. Bolton; 1st Missouri Light, Battery M, Lieutenant John H. Tiemeyer; Ohio Light, 7th Battery, Lieutenant Harlow P. McNaughton.

IVth Division, IInd Brigade, Colonel Benjamin Dornblaser; with the 46th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel John J. Jones; 76th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Jones.

Mississippi Marine Brigade, Brigadier-General Alfred W. Ellet, with 1st Mounted Regiment, Colonel George E. Currie; 1st Cavalry Battalion, Captain John R. Crandall; Sagebarth's Pennsylvania Battery, Captain Daniel E. Walling; Ram Fleet, Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Ellet.

The Garrison of Vicksburg, Brigadier-General Jasper A. Maltby; with 17th Illinois, Major Frank F. Peats; 81st Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew W. Rogers, on the Red River Campaign; 124th Illinois, Colonel John H. Howe; 7th Missouri, Major William B. Collins; 8th Ohio Battery, Captain James F. Putnam; 26th Ohio Battery, Captain Theobold D. Yost.

Cavalry: 2nd Wisconsin, Colonel Thomas Stephens. Cavalry Brigade, Major Horace P. Mumford; with the 5th Illinois, Captain Alexander S. Jessup; 11th Illinois, Captain Thomas O'Hara; 10th Missouri, Captain Jeremiah F. Young.

1st Division, Negro troops, Brigadier-General John P. Hawkins: 1st Brigade, Brigadier-General Isaac F. Shepard, with the 46th United States Colored Troops, Colonel William F. Wood; 48th U. S., Colonel Frederick M. Crandall; 49th U. S., Colonel Van E. Young; 53rd U. S., Colonel Orlando C. Risdon. IInd Brigade, also of U. S. Colored Troops, Colonel Hiram Scofield, with the following regiments: 47th, Captain DeWitt C. Wilson; 50th, Colonel Charles A. Gilchrist; 52nd, Colonel George M. Ziegler.

Additional forces at Vicksburg, also of U. S. Colored Troops were: The 3rd Cavalry, Colonel Embury D. Osband; 2nd Artillery, Battery A, Captain Robert Ranney; 4th Heavy Artillery, Colonel Herman Lieb.

Forces at Goodrich's Landing and near, also of U. S. Colored Troops, under Colonel A. Watson Webber: 51st, Lieutenant-Colonel Julian E.

Bryant; 66th, Colonel William T. Frohock; 2nd Light Artillery, Battery B, Captain William M. Pratt.

At the Defenses and Post of Natchez under Brigadier-General James M. Tuttle were the White Troops, 28th Illinois, Major Hinman Rhodes; 29th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Callicott; the 58th U. S. Colored Troops, Colonel Simon M. Preston; 4th Illinois Cavalry, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin M. R. Wallace; 2nd Illinois Light Artillery, Battery K, Captain William F. Rodgers; 5th U. S. Colored Heavy Artillery, Colonel Bernard G. Farrar.

IIIrd Division, Brigadier-General Mortimer D. Leggett: Ist Brigade, Brigadier-General Manning F. Force; with the 20th Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Bradley; 31st Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert N. Pearson; 45th Illinois, Major John O. Duer, IInd Brigade, Colonel Robert K. Scott; with the 20th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel John C. Fry; 32nd Ohio, Colonel Benjamin F. Potts; 68th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel George E. Welles; 78th Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Greenberry F. Wiles. Additional part of IIIrd Brigade Artillery, Major Thomas D. Maurice; with 1st Illinois Light, Battery D, Lieutenant George P. Cunningham; 1st Michigan Light, Battery H, Lieutenant William Justin; 1st Missouri Light, Battery C, Captain John L. Matthaei; Ohio Light, 3rd Battery, Lieutenant John Sullivan. Cavalry, 2nd Wisconsin, Company H, Lieutenant Charles Doerflinger.

IVth Division, Brigadier-General Marcellus M. Crocker: Ist Brigade, Brigadier-General Thomas Kilby Smith, on the Red River Campaign: 41st Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel John H. Nale; 53rd Illinois, on Veteran furlough, Lieutenant-Colonel John W. McClanahan; 3rd Iowa, Lieutenant-Colonel James Tullis; 33rd Wisconsin, Colonel Jonathan B. Moore. IIIrd Brigade, Brigadier-General Walter Q. Gresham; with the 32nd Illinois, Colonel John Logan; 23rd Indiana, Colonel William L. Sanderson; 53rd Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel William Jones; 12th Wisconsin, Colonel George E. Bryant. Artillery, Captain Edmund Spear, with the 2nd Illinois Light, Battery F, Lieutenant Richard Osborne; Minnesota Light 1st Battery, Captain William Z. Clayton; Ohio Light, 10th Battery, Lieutenant William J. Mong; Ohio Light, 15th Battery, Lieutenant James Burdick. Cavalry: 11th Illinois, Company G, Lieutenant James M. Gregory.

Total XVIIth Army Corps: Present for duty, 862 officers, 18,684 enlisted men. Aggregate present, 24,022. Aggregate present and absent, 38,768. Artillery, 79 pieces.[72]

From the first of General Slocum's experience at Vicksburg he was annoyed by the desire of people from all parts of the country to roam everywhere, intent on business of all kinds, much of which he thought improper. Many of these people were too bold, and Slocum issued his General Orders, Number Four, for the benefit or protection of all worthy persons and for the discipline or banishment of others, which reads as follows:

Headquarters District of Vicksburg,
Vicksburg, Miss., May 5, 1864.

General Orders, No. 4.

I. No persons except those in the employ of the United States Government, and loyal citizens, or those who have taken the oath of allegiance, will hereafter be permitted to pass the picket-lines at any post within this district.

II. No goods or merchandise of any kind will hereafter be allowed to pass outside the lines, except the necessary supplies for planters working lands leased from the United States, and limited quantities to citizens who have taken the oath of allegiance. No citizen will be allowed to take out supplies for any person except himself and his immediate family, and in no case will more than thirty days' supplies be taken out.

III. The provost-marshal at every post will keep an accurate record of every pass granted, and of all permits approved by himself, or the post commander. Books for this purpose will be supplied by the quartermaster's department and the records will be kept open for the inspection of any officer of the government, at all hours between 8 A. M. and 6 P. M. A record will be kept by the officers of the picket-line of all passes and permits presented, which record will be compared with that of the provost-marshal, and any discrepancy will at once be reported.

IV. All trade stores within the district at points not garrisoned by at least one regiment of troops will at once be discontinued. No goods or merchandise will be landed at any point on the river within the limits of the district which is not garrisoned by troops, except necessary supplies for planters working land leased from the government, in which case the goods may be landed under cover of a gun-boat at the nearest practicable point to the plantation.

V. All boats ladened with merchandise detected in landing in violation of the order will be seized and brought to this post.

VI. All persons charged with the duties of imposing taxes on citizens, or of seizing property for the government, will keep an account of all such transactions, specifying the persons from whom the money or property was received and the disposition made of it. This account will be kept open for the inspection of any officer of the government, or of any citizen who has been taxed, or from whom property has been taken.

VII. No Government wagon, transport, or vessel of any kind will be used in bringing cotton or other stores to market, except in cases where such stores have been seized for the Government.

VIII. All clerks and citizen employes in every department whose services are not absolutely necessary will at once be discharged.

IX. No rations will be issued, nor property of any kind transferred to citizens to reimburse them for losses sustained by the operations of the war. The persons to whom damages are to be paid, and the amounts due, are questions which no military officer is authorized to adjust.

X. It is the duty of every person in the employ of the Government

and of every loyal citizen to aid in the correction of all evils. Any practice on the part of either civil or military officers or citizens which tends to aid the enemy or defraud or injure the Government should be promptly reported, and sustained by such proof as will aid the commanding general to correct the evil, and bring the guilty parties to punishment.

By command of Maj. Gen. H. W. SLOCUM.

H. C. RODGERS,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THOROUGH WORK IN VICKSBURG. HARASSMENTS

By command of General Slocum, May 6th, the names of the members of his staff were officially announced to all of the several parts of his command throughout the District of Vicksburg, namely: Colonel Herman Lieb, chief of artillery and ordnance; Lieutenant-Colonel S. H. Sturdevant, chief commissary of subsistence; Surgeon George S. Kemble, medical director; Major E. W. Guindon, Captain William W. Moseley, and Captain William G. Tracy, aides-de-camp, and it was ordered that they be duly respected accordingly. Most of these tried gentlemen, and soldiers, were with General Slocum at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

Further disciplinary work being necessary, Slocum published the following rules as his General Orders Number 6, under date of May 12th, namely:

I. The United States Government having adopted the policy of leasing abandoned plantations and giving employment to freedmen, it is the duty of the military authorities to give protection as far as possible to the lessee and laborer. This protection can only be given by holding responsible the districts in which the bands of guerrillas, who are constantly committing depredations upon them, are organized and encouraged.

II. It is therefore ordered that hereafter in every instance where a Government lessee is robbed of his property, the commanding officer of the nearest military post shall send a sufficient force to the locality, with instruction to seize from disloyal citizens property sufficient to fully indemnify the lessee, which property will be sold at public auction and the proceeds paid to the injured person. If the crops of the lessee are destroyed, or in any manner injured, crops of the same kind will be seized from disloyal citizens, and harvested for the benefit of the injured party. If any lessee is killed by guerrillas, an assessment of $10,000 will at once be levied upon the disloyal people residing within thirty miles of the place where the

offense was committed. Property of any kind will be seized and sold for this purpose. The amount so assessed will be appropriated for the benefit of the family of the lessee. Full reports of all seizures and sales of property under this order will in all cases be forwarded direct to these headquarters.

III. In deciding upon the class of persons who are to be assessed, it should not be forgotten that the oath of allegiance is not an infallible test of loyalty. If a citizen has relatives and friends among these, if he harbors or protects them, or if having the means of doing so he fails to inform the lessee of their approach, he must be held accountable. Men must be judged by their acts and not by the oaths they have taken.

At Vicksburg General Slocum had command of many negro soldiers, some of whom were not so considerate of the rights of others, and of soldierly honor, as those soldiers who had been longer under his command. It was his rule not to discriminate between any parts of his command, all things being equal, and he refrained as much as possible from mentioning color or any disparaging feature. He soon found it necessary, however, to issue his General Orders Number 7, dated May 8th, which contain all that has been found regarding the disgrace mentioned therein, namely:

The attention of the officers of this command is called to the importance of maintaining discipline and preventing all marauding and pillaging on the part of soldiers, while every effort should be made to punish citizens who aid the enemy, or who in any manner violate military law or orders. The punishment in every case should be inflicted by authority, and in a proper and lawful manner. Every act of pillage and every unjustifiable encroachment upon the rights of citizens serve only to bring disgrace upon our armies and encourage a spirit which should be unknown among brave men engaged in a noble cause. The recent murder of a citizen by colored soldiers in open day in the streets of this city [Vicksburg] should arouse the attention of every officer serving with these troops to the absolute necessity of preventing their soldiers from attempting a redress of their own grievances. If the spirit which led to this act of violence is not at once repressed, consequences of the most terrible nature must follow. The responsibility resting upon officers in immediate command of colored troops cannot be overestimated. The policy of arming colored men, although at first strongly opposed, has finally been very generally approved by loyal men throughout the country. If this experiment is successful, if these troops prove powerful and efficient in enforcing obedience to law, all good officers connected with the organization will receive the credit which is due them as pioneers in the great work. But if in teaching the colored man that he is free, and that, in becoming a soldier ,he has become the equal of his former master, we forget to teach him the first duty of a soldier, that of obedience

to law, and to the orders of those appointed over him; if we encourage him in rushing for his arms and coolly murdering citizens for every fancied insult, nothing but disgrace and dishonor can befall all connected with the organization. Every wrong done to the colored soldiers can and shall be punished, but he must not be permitted to take the law into his own hands, and hereafter the officers of any regiment guilty of such crimes as that which has to-day brought disgrace upon the colored troops, will be held to a strict accountability.[73]

Major-General Cadwallader C. Washburn, a capable and efficient officer, was appointed to command the District of Western Tennessee, with headquarters at Memphis. He found in General Slocum a congenial and worthy neighbor. Slocum invited him to Vicksburg, and requested his full cooperation against the conspirators for improper gains and disloyal acts along the river and towns of their districts.

General McPherson, while very active in the command of the Army of the Tennessee in the field and advancing on Atlanta, found time to write to Slocum and Washburn of the good progress his and Thomas's armies were making, and requesting that they keep the enemy in their districts fully occupied in defending himself that he might not be called to help his comrades while they were being hard pressed by the Union forces on the Atlanta Campaign.

The report of General Slocum's command May 31st showed a reduced and more scattered condition than at the close of the previous month. Major-General Frank P. Blair, Jr., had been assigned to command the XVIIth Army Corps composed of that part formerly rendezvoused at Cairo, with accessions from different points, for participation in the Atlanta Campaign; and the parts of this corps remaining immediately under Slocum's command, with various accessions, were kept very busy in garrison, patrol, and expeditionary duties.

McPherson wrote to Slocum June 25th, 1864, briefly from near Dallas, Georgia, that 'now is the time to strike Grenada and smash things' in indirect aid of the Union armies then in hard contest in Georgia. Slocum was wanted in McPherson's Army of the Tennessee at this time, but Lieutenant Grant interfered to prevent, and President Lincoln deferred to him upon receipt of Assistant Secretary of War Charles A. Dana's letter from the field with Grant to the Secretary of War, Edwin M.

Stanton, stating that "Grant wants to keep Slocum at Vicksburg. Grant has reliable information that Slocum is making war on a den of thieves who have their seat there, and wishes that he should be left to straighten them out."[74]

Major-General William T. Sherman, as ranking officer, was with the Union forces on the Atlanta Campaign, first with McPherson and then with General Thomas commanding the Army of the Cumberland. June 4th Sherman applied to General Andrew J. Smith, commanding a Division of the Mississippi River, and General Slocum to at once make up yet another command of six to ten thousand men to operate with Admiral David G. Farragut toward Mobile, Alabama, by way of Pascagoula. Sherman knew at this time that little was left of Mobile, but he though that the landing of Union troops near there might draw Confederate troops that way which might otherwise be added to those battling against him while on the Atlanta Campaign.

General Edward R. S. Canby, commanding on the lower Mississippi River, wrote to Slocum June 16th, for two thousand troops to take into Louisiana, but Slocum did not have any troops to send beyond the limits of his district. The 22nd, the same request was repeated by Canby. The 27th General Washburn, of Memphis, also Slocum's junior in command, issued an imperious command for General Slocum's troops to be sent to a distant place. He also soon wrote to Sherman of Slocum's remissness in not complying with his command. But Slocum was too busy attending to his multiform duties to worry about orders from junior officers. He had been frequently sending out in different direction, even to distant parts of his district, forces to capture, or rout, the enemy's guerrillas and larger commands.

On July 2nd, General Slocum went in person to Jackson, Mississippi, with a force of about three thousand men, composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery men with six cannon. They destroyed the Mississippi Central Railroad including its bridge over the Pearl River near Jackson. The enemy then was massed in superior number under Lieutenant-General S. D. Lee for the purpose of cutting off Slocum's retreat and capturing all of his command. Although at a disadvantage, Slocum attacked Lee and fought him two hours and until his retirement from his advantageous position. In this severe engagement Slocum lost 33

killed, 156 wounded, and 31 missing. The enemy was as severely, or worse, hurt. July 10th Slocum made another successful expedition to Port Gibson, and to Grand Gulf where he routed the enemy, who expected to defeat him by a swooping night attack. And so he kept his troops busy in all directions, as Generals Sherman and Grant well knew.

Sherman, himself had, in his nervous irritable way, been inciting Washburn, Canby, Hurlbut, and others, to inconsiderate and improper action; and now he turned his inconsiderate pen upon Slocum in a telegram dated 'in the Field near Kenesaw Georgia, June 28, 1864,' the first part reading as follows: "I see by the Atlanta paper of the 25th that the railroad bridge at Jackson is being rebuilt. If you permit the enemy to regain the use of that bridge and of the Mississippi Central Railroad, you need not expect military favors from General Grant or myself." Slocum was doing his full duty with the troops under his command, and he was not a man to fawn to anyone; and the threat did not raise Sherman any in his estimation. Just at this time Slocum was much beset by others, mostly juniors north and south of him, who had been incited anew by Sherman 'to do something' and who were finding it the easiest way out of their dilemma to write to Sherman, practically, that 'Slocum would do it.'

At his earliest opportunity General Slocum sent the following gem of a pronunciamento of gentlemanly dignity, soldierly honor, and of rights withal, that set the erratic Sherman aback to the understanding that, no matter how willing an officer might be, he could not readily create soldiers for every excitable caller. This letter reads as follows:

Headquarters District of Vicksburg,
Vicksburg, Miss., July 2, 1864.

Maj. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,
Commanding Military Division of the Mississippi.

GENERAL: Your dispatch of June 27 [28] has been received. Soon after my arrival at this post I sent out an expedition which succeeded in destroying portions of the Mississippi Central Railroad and forcing the enemy to concentrate in this vicinity. The official report of General McArthur, commanding the expedition, has been forwarded to Major-General McPherson. During the absence of this expedition Major-General Canby arrived at this post and exhibited orders placing him in command of the Department of the Gulf and the Department of Arkansas, also giving him

entire control over me. His headquarters were established within the limits of this district, and he issued various orders which were promulgated throughout my command. Among others, he ordered me to hold myself in readiness to send him 2,000 men whenever called upon. This and other orders rendered it impossible for me to act upon some of the orders received from you relative to the movements of troops. On the receipt of your telegram I at once ordered a force of 3,500 men toward Jackson, with a view of going out to-morrow and assuming the command of the expedition. To-day I am in receipt of a dispatch from General Canby ordering me to send the 2,000 men (ordered to be held in readiness) to the Department of the Gulf, which is utterly impossible, on account of my having sent away in obedience to your order all the forces that can with safety be spared from this post. I have refrained from writing on this subject, not because I felt satisfied with my position, but because I felt reluctant to thrust upon you at a time like this any subject calculated in any manner to increase your care or anxiety. I prefer to submit to having my junior in rank take up his headquarters within my district and issue orders to me, in conflict with those emanating from yourself and General McPherson, and do so without complaint. I have just written to General Canby that I cannot send the 2,000 men required by him. If I fail to accomplish what you suggest I am, in the language of your dispatch, 'to expect no military favors from yourself or General Grant.' The penalty which General Canby proposes to inflict has not yet been announced. Without any particular desire to secure favors from yourself or any other person, I shall continue faithful in the discharge of my duty, which, I think, you readily perceive a very disagreeable and difficult one when you compare the different orders issued to me by General Canby with those issued by yourself.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Slocum,
Major-General, Commanding.[75]

Upon receipt of Slocum's communication Sherman at once saw the absurdity of the position in which he had placed himself and, after rubbing his eyes, he re-read Slocum's communication; and, with all of his activities here and there in the field of active war, he found time to read it again before replying to it July 24th, when he was in full realization of the important fact that a considerate, circumspect, and alert commander of good habits and clear mind like General Slocum, could not be excited to imprudent acts like a willing horse under the improper lash of an imprudent master. This reply should be read in full inasmuch as it affords an admirable view of the inward character of William T. Sherman, the great soldier, and commander, with his touching reference to the great soldier, General James B.

McPherson, who had met death while serving his country well, namely:

Hdqrs. Military Division of the Mississippi,
In the Field, near Atlanta, Ga., July 24, 1864.

Major-General SLOCUM,
Commanding Vicksburg, &c.

GENERAL: I have received yours of July 2. I fear you were more affected by the words of my telegram than I designed. By the language used I aimed to express emphatically how important General Grant and I deemed the intersection of the Mississippi Central and the Vicksburg and Selma roads. We had worked for it so hard that I felt sensitive when I heard the enemy were gradually closing the gap. Be assured of my sincere respect, and if you will be most active, whether successful or not, you may count on my personal and official support. This may not be a motive, but for the time being I represent the Great Valley, and I do think I appreciate the relative value of its parts. Though far away here in Georgia thundering away at Atlanta my thoughts revert to Mississippi and that Great Valley, which appears to me the spinal column of America, that you will pardon me if at times I am sensitive as to the safety of its vital parts. There is a seeming conflict of authority between General Canby's command and mine. Were I near I feel we would perfectly accord, but being so far away I will concede to him superior knowledge of the pressing necessities at local points. Therefore when he orders troops, comply with his orders, and report the troops not as transferred but as detached, and keep him advised of the tenor and purpose of any general instructions or orders from the commander of the Department of the Tennessee or from me. Our command is on the east bank and General Canby's on the west bank, but as we are off in Georgia and Canby is near at hand, the War Department has wisely ordered that for the protection of the great interests, as it were, afloat on that river, General Canby's orders to local garrisons are good. If, as I hope will not be the case, an absolute conflict should arise, I think our commands to you would be superior, but if good sense and feeling prevail, I do not apprehend any real conflict, for the protection of the river and its commerce, which is common to our commands, must always take precedence over any mere inland expedition.

You will have heard with pain and sorrow that General McPherson was killed day before yesterday, at the beginning of a battle brought on by Hood, who attacked our left as we were closing our lines on Atlanta. General McPherson had the Fifteenth and Seventh Corps in line, conforming to the enemy's works, and was moving Dodge's troops obliquely by the flank to the left to form, as it were, a shoulder. General McPherson was crossing one of those valleys by a road or wood path by, as it were, a diagonal, to reach the left flank of General Blair, doubtless to prepare a place for General Dodge, and he must have encountered the advanced line of the enemy's skirmishers, who preceded the column which had reached the rear of the line of General Blair. He was shot through the breast,

high up from the right side. He fell dead from his horse but a few yards from the road or path. We soon got his body and sent it to the rear and to the North. He was a noble, gallant gentleman, and the best hope for a great soldier that I had in my mind's eye. You will find many a moist eye in Vicksburg when the news of his death reaches there. General Logan is in command of the army in the field, but the President must name his successor. In the meantime execute his general orders, and in all matters of detail your own good sense must direct.

Butterfield is home sick. Ward, Geary, and Williams command Hooker's divisions. All have done good fighting.

Your friend and servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,
Major-General, Commanding.

The sad victory of the enemy in his killing General McPherson, left a vacancy that must needs be filled immediately. Major-General Oliver O. Howard now of the IVth Army Corps under General Thomas was the most available officer at hand, and he was at once placed in command of the Army of the Tennessee. To this action, of placing a junior officer over him, General Hooker then in command of the XXth Corps, took offense, as did General John A. Logan. Hooker neglected his corps in the field in front of the enemy, and Brigadier-General A. S. Williams, a good officer commanding the Ist Division, was given temporary command, a position that he had well filled before on different occasions. Sherman had begun action to relieve Hooker of the command of this corps but this action was anticipated by Hooker's resignation July 27. This resignation left the XXth Corps open to the command of General Slocum whom Sherman had been anxious to call to his aid in this most important campaign.

General Slocum ordered Brigadier-General Elias S. Dennis July 28th to embark his command, the Ist Division of the XVIIth Army Corps, on the large steamboats Diana and Fairchild at Vicksburg, and to report to the commanding officer at Morganza, Louisiana.

In his reports of the Atlanta Campaign, General Sherman stated that the checkings the enemy received from Slocum's repeated expeditions to prevent him from destroying Union communications and from doing other mischief to the Union forces, reflected great credit on Slocum.

CHAPTER XXXIV

To the Atlanta Campaign. Enters Atlanta

Major-General George H. Thomas, commander of the Department and Army of the Cumberland, recommended the appointment of Major-General H. W. Slocum to the command of the XXth Army Corps yet on the Atlanta Campaign, to succeed Hooker. General Sherman was quick to approve, as were Lieutenant-General Grant and President Lincoln; whereupon Slocum was assigned to this command July 30th, by the War Department. General Halleck immediately thus telegraphed to Slocum who did not receive the dispatch until August 7th from this source. Sherman, however, received notification of the appointment August 2nd, and he immediately telegraphed to Slocum to turn over his command of the District of Vicksburg to the officer next in rank 'and come and command your corps in the field.'

Grant, in his approval of Slocum's appointment to a position that would take him away from Vicksburg, wrote July 29th, directing the appointment of a suitable major-general of experience, one capable of carrying on the important work at Vicksburg so well instituted there by Slocum. Grant mentioned the name of Major-General N. J. T. Dana as one likely to prove suitable, and he was accordingly appointed to succeed Slocum in the command of the District of Vicksburg and Natchez.

Slocum closed his varied military and business duties at Vicksburg as soon as practicable and, August 19th, upon the arrival of his successor the command was turned over to him. According to Sherman's request, Slocum took the first boat for Cairo. Thence passing to Louisville, Kentucky, he traveled over the railway to Nashville where he stopped to confer with General Thomas. Thence his journey led through Chattanooga and over the Atlanta railway to the advance line of the Union forces in the field, where he reported in person to General Sherman August 27th.

The reader may bear in mind that Slocum's XIIth Army Corps, when he left it to take up the command of the District of Vicksburg, was consolidated with the XIth Corps formerly under General Howard, which corps had also previously often been

under Slocum's command in conjunction with his XIIth Corps. The new combination was finally given the name XXth Army Corps and it was recruited to a large organization. By general desire this newly numbered corps was permitted to retain the treasured five-pointed star badge of the now extinct XIIth Corps.

It is well for the reader to understand here, that General Grant's plan was to cease guarding extensive tracts of the country at large, and to call all of the practicable Union forces against two centers of operation—the Eastern armies under Grant against Lee and Richmond, and the Western armies under Sherman against Atlanta, and then certain other parts of the South to be determined upon. It was necessary, however, to continue to guard communications for supplies.

Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston, who had been flanked out of his strong defenses by Sherman's tactics and steadfast forces, and who had therefrom several times retreated to other lines in the rear previously prepared, was relieved of this command by Lieutenant-General John B. Hood by order of the Confederate Government at Richmond. Hood, by his unwise offensive movements, also lost ground, and he was also destined to soon retreat from Atlanta for General Slocum's triumphal entrance into and occupation of that important center and stronghold.

The XXth Corps, under command of General A. S. Williams of its Ist Division had, just before General Slocum's arrival, been sent to guard the railway and bridge across the Chattahoochee River, a large stream eight or ten miles northwest of Atlanta, preparatory for the other Union forces advancing against the enemy's communications east and south of Atlanta.

General Williams announced the arrival of General Slocum August 26th, also the position of the corps at Pace, Montgomery, and Turner's Ferries of the Chattahoochee, it having been separated from the other Union commands without being seriously molested by the enemy. The next day General Slocum rode along the lines of the different parts of the corps, and the great warmth of the reception accorded to him everywhere by the veteran soldiers who had served under him in the great battles of the Army of the Potomac, showed their emphatic pleasure and satisfaction at his return to them.

This day General Slocum formally reported to Sherman that he had assumed command. He also reported that General Geary of his IInd Division had a sharp skirmish on the 26th with the enemy's cavalry at Pace's Ferry and captured several of them prisoners, the others escaping. He further reported that his corps was well intrenched, and that his headquarters were near the railway bridge. Slocum also issued his General Orders Number 10 to his corps regarding his appointment to its command, and announcing the choice of three aides-de-camp staff officers, as follows: Major E. W. Guindon, and Captains W. W. Moseley and William G. Tracy. Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Perkins continued to serve as his assistant adjutant-general.

General Sherman addressed Slocum informing him of the positions of his other Union forces as follows: Hdqrs. Military Division of the Mississippi, in the Field near West Point [Georgia Railroad], August 28, 4 P. M. General Slocum [At the Chattahoochee] Bridge: Army of the Tennessee is on the West Point railroad near Fairburn; [Army of the] Cumberland at Red Oak, and [Army of the] Ohio will be on Camp Creek to-night. We will break it [the railroad] good and move on to the other at once. Keep me advised of all things of interest, if possible via Campbellton, and when you feel strong at the bridge give a help to Marietta. Order as many stores [supplies] to keep your position as possible."

Slocum soon visited Marietta and other points within his influence, and personally informed himself regarding the topography of the country, the positions and strength of the enemy as fully as possible.

General Slocum reported to General Thomas August 29th that he had collected and armed all of the convalescents and stragglers at Marietta; that his positions at the Chattahoochee bridge and ferries were strong, and that he was ready for any other work desired of him.

Having selected and stationed all available troops for service in fortifications at Marietta and in the field along his extended line, Slocum instituted reconnoissances to determine the true condition of affairs around and in Atlanta, the first being made August 30th. With eight companies from each regiment of General Ruger's brigade and one battery of artillery, all

equaling a small brigade, the country was examined to within two miles of the city. A few Confederate cavalrymen were seen in the distance, but they soon disappeared. The next day's reconnoitering party found too strong a force of the enemy, and it returned without a skirmish.

Slocum's entire force present for duty before and near Atlanta at this time to hold many important places, was comparatively small, it being composed of only 12,170 enlisted men. The aggregate number of his command, present and absent, was 28,991 enlisted men, with 36 pieces of artillery. Sherman was many miles south of Atlanta at this time with communications cut; and Grant telegraphed to Slocum to communicate all news direct to Halleck in Washington until all parts of the armies could be heard from direct.

Slocum increased the number and strength of his commands against Atlanta and, early in the morning of September 2nd, he telegraphed to Washington that he and his XXth Corps were in full possession of the city. The Secretary of War immediately replied with warm expression of his thanks for the welcome news. The preceding night the enemy destroyed eighty-one railway cars more or less filled with ammunition, arms, and stores, also seven locomotives. He left three locomotives, twenty pieces of artillery and a large number of small arms uninjured. Several hundred prisoners were captured and many deserters from the enemy continued to follow them into the Union lines for some considerable length of time. Many citizens greeted the Union soldiers as deliverers from the 'despotism of the Confederacy.'

General Slocum also reported to Halleck at Washington that many of his soldiers had not been paid for eight months, and he requested that paymasters be sent at the earliest practicable time. Troops were immediately distributed in and around the city for its protection, and for the protection of all citizens. Railway communication was soon established with the Union forces at Chattanooga.

The Confederate General Hardee retreated in the night of September 1st from Sherman, the same night that Hood retreated from Slocum at Atlanta. Sherman now saw no advantage in further work immediately against the enemy to the

southward. He marched leisurely toward Atlanta, extending his troops from Decatur on the east to beyond Atlanta on the west. Slocum remained in command of Atlanta.

The Atlanta Campaign lasted about four months, and was one of the most memorable in history so far, wrote General Grant. Beside the important City of Atlanta, the enemy lost at least 500 men killed, 2,500 wounded, and 3,000 prisoners. The entire Union loss was less than 1,500.[76]

General Slocum took charge of all suitable buildings in Atlanta for United States uses. He established his headquarters in the Trout House Hotel. Sherman soon ordered all citizens with their families to prepare for going to their friends South or North, inasmuch as there could be no more trade or commerce in Atlanta until the close of the war.

Now General Slocum's duties were greatly augmented by the reports of different corps and subordinate commanders of Sherman's armies, with prisoners, the sick and wounded, and with the spoils of war, which he was to assign each to the proper place. Slocum also extended his guards so as to protect the Peach Tree Road, and he re-arranged the forces guarding the Chattahoochee bridges and ferries.

Colonel Benjamin Harrison, afterwards President of the United States, was then commanding at the Chattahoochee the Ist Brigade of the IIIrd Division of Slocum's XXth Corps. Slocum directed his assistant adjutant-general to inform Harrison that he had ordered General A. S. Williams's Ist Division all forward to Atlanta, and also General Geary's IInd Division. That he, Harrison, was ordered to send one of his regiments to hold the bridge-heads on the south side of the Chattahoochee at the railroad ferry, and that he send a company to hold Pace's Ferry. At the latter bridge he should take up about fifty feet of the flooring from the south end and then place one company of soldiers at the north end which would make all safe at that point. He, Harrison, should take up the bridge at Turner's Ferry, and the unmounted cavalry under Colonel Capron could hold the ford at that place, being stationed on the north side of the river. Slocum further ordered Harrison to send to Atlanta all the stragglers and convalescents in his charge, with necessary guards. Harrison was to afford the different departments at

the railway bridge every facility for loading stores to be transported to Atlanta.[77]

The enemy's intrenchments and fortifications of Atlanta were found to be as desired by the enemy well near impregnable. They extended entirely around the city in a circle of about one mile and-a-half outside the limits. There were also outer intrenchments which a storming party must needs force before a close siege could begin. These works requiring a far larger force to defend than Sherman could spare, Slocum constructed interior defenses of sufficient extent and strength.

General Sherman took up temporary headquarters in Atlanta at the residence of the lately deceased Masonic Grand Master of Georgia, by consent of his widow, Mrs. Welch. The band of music of the 33rd Massachusetts Regiment of Slocum's men soon extended its compliments to Sherman in a serenade. The music pleased the general so much that he suggested to the band the propriety of a concert in the principal theatre building for the benefit of Mrs. Welch, a worthy woman, who had been impoverished by the war. The band was prompt to act accordingly. Some of the officers with well-trained voices readily joined in the effort, as did different Atlanta ladies, friends of Mrs. Welch, and a good entertainment was produced. It embraced much choice music, including classic and popular compositions; Gounod's Soldiers' Chorus from Faust being one of the newest numbers. Then a play was put on the stage. The theatre had a great run till the very last night before the march through Georgia began, when the receipts of the evening were $667. The season lasted four weeks (seventeen nights) and the band's receipts amounted to $8,000 in all. It gave $2,000 to Mrs. Welch, and out of the balance in hand it had enough to pay its members the amount due from the officers to the end of their three years' enlistment.[78] A soldiers' variety troupe also gave a number of entertainments with cheaper admittance fees.

Badge of the XXth Army Corps

CHAPTER XXXV

At Atlanta. Development of New Campaign

General Sherman withdrew his IVth and XIVth Army Corps September 5th from the immediate neighborhood of Atlanta, to positions along the railways east and north. General Slocum remained in full command of the city and the country several miles around.

The Confederate General Hood soon began depredations on the Union line of communication, and Sherman moved after him, leaving only Slocum to defend Atlanta and the Chattahoochee, thus showing unbounded confidence in Slocum's watchfulness and ability.

Correspondence soon began between Sherman and Grant regarding the further movement against the enemy from Atlanta, Sherman favoring expedition through Georgia to the south or east. The enemy, however, was constantly breaking his communication with Chattanooga, delaying, and imperiling his supplies. He had considered advancement upon Macon, Georgia, 103 miles from Atlanta, and even to Augusta a distance of 175 miles. He felt assured that he could find daily food as he advanced but, being without railway communication with a Union depot of supplies, with the enemy surrounding him, he was fearful of being delayed so that supplies might not be constantly forthcoming. He wrote to Grant September 10th that, if he (Grant) could manage to send gunboats up the Savannah River to Augusta, or up the Chattahoochee as far as Columbus, 'I can sweep the whole State of Georgia.'

Trains began running through to Atlanta the 10th, and this day special field orders announced that, by agreement between Generals Sherman and Hood, a truce was declared to exist for ten full days, between September 12th-22nd, at the station of the Macon railroad known as Rough and Ready, and the country around and about within a circle of two miles radius, together with the roads leading to and from in the directions of Atlanta and Lovejoy's Station, for the purpose of affording the citizens of Atlanta a safe means of removal south. Facilities were ordered to be supplied that the removal might be safe and comfortable, both to the people and to their effects.

Union officers and enlisted men of high character were chosen to see this order properly executed, they to appear in their best uniforms, and with their best soldierly bearing.[79]

This removal of the citizens of Atlanta, and the exchange of 2,000 prisoners with Hood for a like number of his Union prisoners, cleared the situation for the future operations in Georgia. Grant had been urging Sherman to keep the enemy busy. He wrote September 10th, 'if we give him no peace while the war lasts, the end cannot be distant.'

The effective force of General Slocum's XXth Corps September 19th, was: officers, 774; enlisted men in infantry and cavalry, 12,112. The aggregate present, and absent sick, on detachment service, and on furlough August 31st, was 28,991 men, with 36 pieces of artillery.

Political questions, and the presidential election, did not interfere with General Slocum's duties in the field. A number of generals, subordinate and others, returned to their homes to participate in the important political campaign in progress, but Slocum remained at his post of duty.

The summary of the report of John W. Foye, Surgeon of U. S. Volunteers, and Medical Director of the XXth Army Corps, from July 22nd to September 30th inclusive, demonstrated the advantage of retaining the sick and wounded with the corps wherever the marches and engagements with the enemy would permit. For instance his report shows: Admitted to field hospitals, 2,935 sick, and 430 wounded. Returned to duty 1,010; transferred to other hospitals, 1,419; discharged, 4; died, 173; furloughed, 1; deserted, 2; remaining in field hospital, sick 755, wounded 51. The data kept by Surgeon Foye's predecessor of surgical operations immediate and following the several battles and engagements with the enemy during the early part of the Atlanta Campaign, were so deficient in system and detail as to render the notes valueless for statistical purposes.[80] Colonel George A. Cobham of the 111th Pennsylvania Infantry was killed in the Battle of New Hope Church, and Colonel David Ireland of the 137th New York Infantry, Volunteers, died of disease September 10th. The loss of these brave and efficient officers was much lamented in their brigades, and by all of their commanders.

In General Sherman's special field orders issued October 3rd,

the first paragraph reads, that Major-General Slocum with the XXth Corps would hold Atlanta and the Chattahoochee bridge, and all detachments of other troops or corps would report to General Slocum and be assigned by him to posts looking to the security of the Atlanta depot of supplies. The next day General Jacob D. Cox, a very capable and efficient officer, formerly in the East and now the the headquarters of the Army of the Ohio at Decatur, Georgia, was directed to report to General Slocum for orders. General Cox was destined after the close of the war to rise in civil service to the office of Governor of Ohio and, also high in judicial service. His ranking officer, General John M. Schofield, was at this time in Tennessee as Commander of the Ohio, aiding General Thomas's Army of the Cumberland against the Confederate General Forrest and detachments of the enemy.

General Sherman apprised Slocum October 4th of the positions of the enemy embracing Wheeler and Hood's main forces which he was about to attack near Allatoona to the northward, and he requested Slocum to work night and day on the inner fortifications of Atlanta. He feared that Slocum would be violently attacked before the new defenses were serviceable. The bridge would receive the first attack, but wrote the anxious and doughty Sherman 'If I live you may count on my coming to your rescue. Please answer.' Slocum's immediately reply was: 'We are hard at work, and I think you need have no anxiety about us. The bridge is perfectly safe.' This day Slocum issued a circular to his different commands notifying them of the nearness of at least one infantry corps of the enemy with Major-General Joseph Wheeler's large force of cavalry. Slocum placed each division and detachment of his infantry and artillery at the point of greatest vantage at the bridge and around Atlanta. All details he had carefully studied, and his officers and men acted upon his orders with alacrity and precision. Everything, and everybody, was soon in readiness for the enemy's approach from every quarter. Yet anxious, Sherman wrote October 6th with several suggestions, to which Slocum was able to reply: "It is perfectly quiet here; new line finished; our position very strong. Can I do anything to help you? I can safely send out a brigade to destroy bridges."

Sherman sent Slocum October 7th a long communication reporting the repulse of the enemy by his forces near Allatoona, and the retreat of the enemy's detachments before Sherman's immediate command, thus surrendering to him Kenesaw, Pine Hill, and Lost Mountain. The railway had been much broken by the enemy. Forage was good. Slocum was able to reply favorably, even to the sending out of a strong foraging party to the southeast with good results. Sherman wrote to Slocum again this day regarding the safety of Allatoona with its 8,000 Union beef cattle and other supplies. The enemy's loss in the recent engagement was large, including 450 prisoners. Hood had retreated southward, and Slocum was warned against his probable attack. In his letter of congratulation and expression of confidence in General John M. Corse for his brave and successful defense of Allatoona, Sherman requested him to send to Generals Thomas and Webster in Tennessee, the information that Slocum had completed the defenses of Atlanta, making it so safe 'that Slocum could hold it against Hood's whole army.'

General Slocum reported to Sherman October 9th, that all was quiet at Atlanta, and that the Chattahoochee bridge that had recently been injured by the flood of water, had been repaired, and a steam train had been sent across it. He further reported that more forage for his horses was necessary, and that he would forage in the country again.

Communication was open October 9th between Sherman at Allatoona, Georgia, Thomas at Nashville, Tennessee, and Grant at City Point, Virginia. The former reported Atlanta safe, and again proposed that he break up the railroad southward from Chattanooga (it being impossible to keep it from being broken frequently in places by the enemy) and that he (Sherman) 'strike out with wagons for Milledgeville, Millen, and Savannah.' By continuing to hold the railroad south of Chattanooga Sherman estimated that he would lose 1,000 men every month and gain but little toward conquering the enemy. That with his 8,000 beef cattle and about 3,000,000 rations of bread, they could start from Atlanta and forage through Georgia.[82] To this Grant replied the 11th with forebodings regarding the damage that might be done to the Union forces by Hood north of the Tennessee River; and to Sherman in Georgia by his being 'bush-

whacked by all the old men, little boys, and such railroad guards as are still left at home.' Sherman replied immediately that he would infinitely prefer to make wreck of the road after sending to Chattanooga or further north his sick, wounded, and worthless, and take an independent course through Georgia. He thought that Hood would be forced to follow him, but if he did go north Thomas would compete with him. At all events Sherman preferred to act on the offensive; to have the enemy guessing at what movement he would make next, rather than on the defensive when he would be obliged to do the guessing regarding the enemy's next move—the difference being twenty-five per cent. in favor of the former. The last sentence of this dispatch read, 'answer quick, as I know we will not have the telegraph long.' This dispatch was sent at 10 A. M., and Grant replied at 11.30 P. M. 'Make it as you think best,' as Sherman read it.[83] Some writers have said that it was Grant's idea that led Sherman to the sea; but here we note authority that Grant, as superior officer, was loath to give his sanction to Sherman's suggestion.

Sherman, and his carefully selected supporting officers, now had a definite and alluring object for which to work—an object and work that he had not been able to dismiss from his mind for some length of time.

General Slocum ordered October 10, all those in charge of the available wagons in his command to be in readiness to start with General Geary's division on a foraging expedition to South River to the southeast of Atlanta. Slocum reported to Sherman the 13th that Hood had found his (Slocum's) advance line very strong and had taken all of his (Hood's) troops from the neighborhood of Atlanta except a small cavalry force near Sandtown. Slocum's five or six hundred well guarded forage wagons returned the evening of this day well laden, and the army beef cattle in Atlanta found nourishment therein. The next day Hood's army was reported as being near Resaca.

As proof that Sherman was not desiring to leave his Armies of the Cumberland, of the Ohio, and of the Tennessee in destitute condition, the report of the commissary of subsistence showed the supplies in store at Chattanooga at this date as, 3,000,000 rations of meat; 3,500,000 of bread-stuffs; 3,500,000

of coffee; 7,000,000 of sugar; 500,000 each of beans and rice; 5,000,000 each of candles, soap, and salt; 1,000,000 of whisky; also vegetables of different kinds.

A new medical director, Surgeon H. E. Goodman, U. S. Volunteers, reported October 15th according to orders to General Slocum who made the announcement to all of his command in his general orders of this date, closing with the sentence 'He will be obeyed and respected accordingly.'

Another foraging expedition of wagons strongly guarded by infantry and eight pieces of artillery, was started at 6 A. M. October 16th by Slocum. Not having received any report about the enemy for some days, he inquired of Resaca by telegraph. General Raum replied that the enemy was to the northward where he had done some harm to two weak garrisons and to the railroad. A dispatch soon followed from Sherman then at Ship's Gap, informing that he had driven the enemy from that place this morning, and from the country around, and that the enemy was likely to go south. In characteristic vein Sherman continued: "I think I will leave you at Atlanta and will swing around in the country for forage and adventure. Look out for yourself and hold Atlanta. You have plenty of grub, and I will turn up somewhere." In other words Sherman, while shaping conditions favorable to the 'March to the Sea' he was seeking a little preliminary experience in foraging while seeking the enemy in his own chosen field. But Hood 'would not fight, though offered battle repeatedly.'

On the 18th of October, Slocum wrote to Sherman who was then at Chattanooga Creek, that he had received Montgomery, Alabama, newspapers of the 12th to 15th inclusive, the copy of the 14th containing a paragraph reading as follows: "We suspect Hood will make Blue Mountains his base for the fall and winter and hold himself in a position to harass Sherman's rear and keep his railroad communications disabled." Slocum quoted much more from the enemy's papers, and then wrote for himself, that "If Hood goes to Blue Mountain I would like to take two divisions of troops and strike out for Macon and Milledgeville. One division in our new works, with all of our surplus artillery, can hold Atlanta, and I believe I can go through the State with two good divisions. I can there get a

new outfit of horses and mules and damage the enemy seriously by destroying the railroad, etc., even if I fail in capturing either Macon or Milledgeville. I am positive they have no force in this section of the State other than Iverson's Cavalry. Let me try it. I will return if I become satisfied I am hazarding too much."[84]

General Slocum at this time was not informed of the Sherman-Grant arrangement, nor had Sherman at any time informed him of his desires, he having been distant with much else to communicate. It will, therefore, be but proper to give to General Slocum the honor, with General Sherman of having conceived the same desirability of striking the enemy where it would do the most good to the Union cause. To this sincere and confident appeal of Slocum, Sherman replied the 20th from Gaylesville, Alabama, evading the question. He requested Slocum to use all his energies in sending northward everything not needed at Atlanta, adding tersely 'I will take your corps along.' In this writing Slocum was further asked to send northward all sick and wounded soldiers as soon as the railroad, then about repaired, was open; to keep out strong foraging parties; to retain 1,500,000 rations of breadstuffs, coffee, sugar and salt; 500,000 rations of salt meat, and to send all other foodstuffs northward. He was also to have all the lightest pontoon bridges and trains ready, all else to be sent to the rear or destroyed.

General Sherman was planning to be near Atlanta, and ready to take up the grand march by November 1st. The enemy had again refused to accept battle, and had retreated down the Coosa River toward Gadsden. General Slocum was gaining momentum in the foraging business by experience. October 20th at 6 A. M. he started an expedition with 500 or more wagons out the Decatur road with infantry, cavalry, and artillery guards; and with even stricter detail in parking the empty and loaded wagons while detachments of soldiers and wagons were sent in different directions from the main guard. The average prescribed task was to load 150 wagons per day, if not molested by the enemy.

Sherman outlined his plans for preparation and for the March to the Sea October 20th to Thomas, commander of the Department of the Cumberland, that he might be prepared to spare two corps from his army to accompany Sherman on this

proposed campaign; the XIVth Corps under General Jefferson C. Davis, and the XXth Corps under General Slocum. The desire as then expressed was to capture Macon, Augusta, and probably Savannah and Charleston; but he "would keep in mind the alternatives of the mouth of the Appalachicola River and Mobile. By this I propose to demonstrate the vulnerability of the South, and make its inhabitants feel that war and individual ruin are synonymous terms."[85]

General A. S. Williams commanding the Ist Division of Slocum's XXth Corps, was directed October 22nd to have one of the brigades of his division in readiness to march at once with three day's rations; that he call in the fatigue details; and that the commanding officer of the brigade detailed would report at once to General Slocum's headquarters. Such unpremeditated reconnoissances were not infrequent.

General Sherman wrote in high spirits from Gaylesville, Alabama, October 23rd, congratulating Slocum on his success in foraging, and he requested its continuance; and that the foragers be imbued with the sentiment 'if Georgia can afford to break our railroads, she can afford to feed us.' Slocum kept increasing the number of his wagons sent for forage until they numbered as high as 700 in each expedition. The policy yet was to gather all the supplies possible in every direction, to recall all convalescent and furloughed men, with new recruits, to strengthen the Armies of the Tennessee, the Cumberland and of the Ohio, as well as of Sherman's detachments, that the latter could be spared for Georgia and other parts of the South. The remaining convalescents and other men at Atlanta not able to withstand active duty in the field, were sent northward by Slocum October 29th.

The cavalry of both friend and foe occasionally captured a few prisoners, from whom the position and trend of each army were quite accurately learned. The enemy thus learned of Sherman's intended march through Georgia from prisoners captured from his immediate command, as early as October 28th, when Wheeler so reported to Hood.[86]

All recruits, volunteers and drafted men, to fill the desired quota of the four infantry corps for the special march through Georgia, were hurried forward October 29th, that their drillings

and discipline in their new surroundings might be begun as early as practicable.

General Slocum's effective force in and immediately around Atlanta October 31st was as follows: Headquarters 21 officers and 219 enlisted men; Provost Guard 33 officers 711 men; 1st Division 279 officers 4,681 men; IInd Division 231 officers 4,538 men; IIIrd Division, 244 officers 4,507 men. Total 13,340. The number present and absent was 28,443.

The effective force of the XIVth Corps October 31st, was: Headquarters' officers 92; enlisted men 883; infantry officers, 535, enlisted men, 10,620. The recruits, however, soon added materially to the numbers in the several ranks.

General Slocum sent out a strong foraging force November 1st accompanied by a force prepared to wreck the Augusta railroad eastward from Lithonia. This wrecking force was instructed to burn every tie and thereby heat the rails in their middles so they could be readily bent and twisted around nearby trees.

About this time Slocum was directed by Sherman to prepare for 'the absolute destruction of Atlanta' railroad tracks, depots, shops, houses, cars not wanted for sending to Chattanooga men, stores, artillery, and whatever else there that was of use to the Union troops in Tennessee. It was the desire to have everything shipped within five days. This day, November 1st, from 5,000 to 8,000 of the enemy were reported to Slocum as being at Stone Mountain, but they were not attracted nearer Atlanta. Special field orders were published the 4th regarding supplies to be retained, reducing everything to the necessary limitation, and the sending northward of all camp and garrison equippage, boxes, chests, trunks, and all other articles that would encumber the wagons on the long march. The railroad between Resaca and Etowah bridge was to be left undisturbed. The bridge as Resaca and the iron north of it were to be taken to Chattanooga. The road from Etowah bridge to Atlanta was to be destroyed. Slocum's XIVth Corps was to do this work between Etowah and Big Shanty, and his XXth Corps from the Chattahoochee into and including Atlanta.

All army commanders were enjoined to observe as much caution and secrecy as possible, and to see that their com-

mands acted with the utmost energy, inasmuch as from the moment of beginning the severing of the connection with their comrades to the northward, every hour of time must be devoted to the success of their isolated forward movement.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Prepares to Sever All Union Communications

General Slocum moved his loaded wagon train and the XXth Corps November 5th, out along the McDonough road about three miles from Atlanta, in which was left only his Provost Guard and a division of cavalry under General Kenner Garrard. After Slocum's infantry had taken position in the country, as the first step of all toward Savannah, General Kilpatrick, commander of the Cavalry Corps, ordered Garrard to take his command to Marietta. Slocum interposed and telegraphed to Sherman, who must needs have at all times knowledge of the position of all his forces that if the cavalry was called away he should take his infantry back within the city to guard against dashes of the enemy's cavalry. Reply was soon received that the cavalry would remain, and be reorganized there. Slocum then ordered the cavalry to send scouting parties November 6th on all the roads leading south and east of his troops and around the city.

The XXIIIrd Army Corps, of the Army of the Ohio, was at this time in need of a worthy division commander, and General Slocum was asked if he could supply the want. General Thomas H. Ruger a brigade commander in Slocum's XXth Corps, an officer worthy of this preferment, was reluctantly sent by Slocum to be transferred to General Schofield's headquarters at Nashville November 6th. This day General Slocum ordered his XXth Corps to move back within the fortifications of Atlanta. The facility and orderly way with which this movement was made was very pleasing to the commander of the corps. Each division general was ordered to keep his wagons loaded, and to carefully examine all loads, that they might be kept free from all prohibited baggage and stores. The 700 effective cavalrymen were continued in reconnaissance duty, and their number was increased by new arrivals.

The enemy was kept well informed by General Wheeler's cavalry of every movement of the Union forces. Hood's orders were to concentrate the Confederate forces to oppose in every possible manner any southward movement, by damaging the Union forces in every possible way.[87]

General Sherman had been very busy every day, and much of the nights, in choosing the officers and planning the organization of two armies from his several commands to accompany him through Georgia; and also to strengthen his other armies northward that they might hold Mississippi and the other conquered States north and west. He telegraphed to Slocum November 7th, inquiring about the railroad east of Lithonia, and regarding his condition for the march. Slocum's reply was terse and satisfactory, namely: 'Taken up. I am ready.' Another dispatch from Sherman the same day, read that he had directed Captain Orlando M. Poe, Chief Engineer, to destroy Atlanta; and to be ready to start on the march the 10th.[88] Sherman also made effort this day "to get about a dozen bold men, soldiers or citizens, either for pay or for adventure, to start south from Rome and break up the telegraph wire between Montgomery and Columbus, and then overtake us somewhere about Macon."

General Slocum wrote to his wife at their home in Syracuse, New York, November 7th, in part as follows:

> The last train for the North leaves here to-morrow morning. Our soldiers are scattered along the railroad a hundred miles north, and as soon as that train passes the work of destruction will commence. The railroad will be completely destroyed and every bridge burned. Then both armies (the Armies of the Tennessee and of Georgia) will assemble here, and after destroying this city will commence the march. I fear their track will be one of desolation.
>
> I have been to the railroad depot for the past three days several times, and have witnessed many sad and some ludicrous scenes. All citizens (white and black) begin to apprehend that something is about to happen. The few white people remaining after their families were sent away, are alarmed, and many are leaving the city, giving up houses, lands, furniture, negroes, and all. The black want to go North, and the Car House is surrounded by them. Hundreds of cars are literally packed with them and their dirty bundles, inside and outside. Old toothless hags, little pickaninnies, fat wenches of all shades, from light brown to jet black, are piled up together with their old bags, bundles, broken chairs, etc. Some are gnawing old bones, some squatted by the cars making hoe-cakes,

some crying for food which we cannot supply. Many of the white people are as anxious to get North as are the darks, and gladly accept a place in a car reeking with the odor peculiar to 'the American of African descent.' It is a sad sight, but I anticipate seeing many such before spring.

I wish for humanity's sake that this sad war could be brought to a close. While laboring to make it successful, I shall do all in my power to mitigate its horrors.

Rain fell November 8th, which was considered favorable as likely to improve the roads for marching. Four telegraph and signal cipher operators were distributed this day to the headquarters of Sherman, Slocum, Howard, and Kilpatrick. The following announcement was issued the next day:

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi,
In the Field, Kingston, Georgia, November 8, 1864.

Special Field Orders No. 119.

I. The general commanding deems it proper at this time to inform the officers and men of the XIVth, XVth, XVIIth, and XXth Corps, that he has organized them into an army for a special purpose, well known to the War Department and to General Grant. It is sufficient for you to know that it involves a departure from our present base, and a long and difficult march to a new one. All the chances of war have been considered and provided for, as far as human sagacity can. All he asks of you is to maintain that discipline, patience, and courage which have characterized you in the past, and he hopes, through you, to strike a blow at our enemy that will have a natural effect in producing what we all so much desire—his complete overthrow. Of all things the most important is that the men, during marches and in camp, keep their places and not scatter about as stragglers or foragers, to be picked up by a hostile people in detail. It is also of the utmost importance that our wagons should not be loaded with anything but provisions and ammunition. All surplus servants, non-combatants, and refugees should now go to the rear, and none should be encouraged to encumber us on the march. At some future time we will be enabled to provide for the poor whites and blacks who seek to escape the bondage under which they are now suffering. With these few simple cautions in your minds, he hopes to lead you to achievements equal in importance to those of the past.

By order of
MAJ. GEN. W. T. SHERMAN.

L. M. DAYTON, Aide-de-Camp.

These orders were issued at this date only to the three principal commanders, Slocum, Howard, and Kilpatrick, the two first named, at least, having been personally and freely consulted fre-

quently of late regarding the great undertaking, and had been in full and hearty sympathy with it and with the details of the plans. November 10th these orders were published to the other officers down to brigade commanders.

In such great undertaking, involving many diffierent subordinate commands in different places, with the sick, wounded, and partly convalescent, and with irregular train service, some were sure to be behind in their preparations for the great change. To avoid such delays, Sherman had given definite orders early, and had repeated them from time to time that there might be no stress or confusion at the last moment. He wrote November 9th, "If the rain clears away I will not delay for any cause, but you can use cars that come to the best advantage. If we have cars we will ship the arms; if not we will destroy them; but I will delay for nothing when the time comes; same with the sick. The doctors have had plenty of notice."

Special Field Orders No. 120, were issued November 9th, reading as follows:

I. For the purpose of military operations, this army is divided into two wings: The Right Wing, Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard commanding the XVth and XVIIth Corps; the Left Wing, Maj. Gen. H. W. Slocum commanding the XIVth and XXth Corps.

II. The habitual order of march will be, wherever practicable, by four roads, as near parallel as possible and converging at points hereafter to be indicated in orders. The cavalry, Brig. Gen. Kilpatrick commanding, will receive special orders from the commander-in-chief.

III. There will be no general train of supplies, but each corps will have its ammunition train and provision train distributed habitually as follows: Behind each regiment should follow one wagon and one ambulance; behind each brigade should follow a due proportion of ammunition wagons, provision wagons, and ambulances. In case of danger each army corps commander should change this order of march by having his advance and rear brigade unincumbered by wheels. The separate columns will start habitually at 7 A. M., and make about fifteen miles per day, unless otherwise fixed in orders.

IV. The army will forage liberally on the country during the march. To this end each brigade commander will organize a good and sufficient foraging party, under the command of one or more discreet officers, who will gather, near the route traveled, corn or forage of any kind, meat of any kind, vegetables, corn-meal, or whatever is needed by the command, aiming at all times to keep in the wagons at least ten days' provisions for the command and three days' forage. Soldiers must not enter the dwell-

ings of the inhabitants, or commit any trespass, but during a halt or encampment they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, and to drive in stock in sight of their camp. To regular foraging parties must be intrusted the gathering of provisions and forage at any distance from the road traveled.

V. To army corps commanders alone is intrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc., and for them this general principle is laid down: In districts and neighborhoods where the army is unmolested no destruction of such property should be permitted; but should guerrillas or bushwhackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants burn bridges, obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostility, then army commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless according to the measure of such hostility.

VI. As for horses, mules, wagons, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, the cavalry and artillery may appropriate freely and without limit, discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly. Foraging parties may also take mules or horses to replace the jaded animals of their trains, or to serve as pack mules for the regiments or brigades. In all foraging, of whatever kind, the parties engaged will refrain from abusive or threatening language, and may, where the officer in command thinks proper, give written certificates of the facts, but no receipts, and they will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance.

VII. Negroes who are able-bodied and can be of service to the several columns may be taken along, but each army commander will bear in mind that the question of supplies is a very important one and that his first duty is to see to them who bear arms.

VIII. The organization at once of a good pioneer battalion for each army corps, composed if possible of negroes, should be attended to. This battalion should follow the advance guard, should repair roads, and double them if possible, so that the columns will not be delayed after reaching bad places. Also, army commanders should study the habit of giving the artillery and wagons the road, and marching their troops on one side, and also instruct their men to assist wagons at steep hills or bad crossing of streams.

IX. Captain O. M. Poe, chief engineer, will assign to each wing of the army a pontoon train, fully equipped and organized, and the commanders thereof will see to its being properly protected at all times.[89]

Badge of the XIVth Army Corps

CHAPTER XXXVII

ANNOYANCES. ARMY OF GEORGIA BY REGIMENTS

General Slocum reported to General Sherman November 9th that detachments of the enemy's cavalry passed rapidly in front of his line, at long distance, and nearly to the Eastport road. He captured some prisoners who reported that the enemy consisted of Iverson's brigade of cavalry 800 strong, Young's cavalry from Athens 800 strong, and six pieces of artillery. They were surprised, having been informed that the Union forces had gone north, leaving but a small rear guard at Atlanta.

General Sherman was much annoyed by the slow progress made by the railway operatives, and those to whom were intrusted the removal to Chattanooga of munitions that he could not take with him but that should be conserved. He again gave notice to Slocum, Howard, and Kilpatrick, to hold every one of their commands in readiness 'to move on an hour's notice.'

Copious rains again caused floods which swept away pontoon bridges, and stopped the progress toward Atlanta of 1,500 beef cattle. This caused a change of the course of the cattle to the northward for the Army of the Cumberland; Sherman being at this time convinced that beef cattle could not keep pace with the armies through Georgia. The thought occurred to him, that his army could get a share of meat in a country where a million of people lived.

The 10th of November Sherman wrote to Slocum to publish Special Field Orders Number 119 to his soldiers generally, and to furnish copies of those of Number 120 to all of his officers down to and including the commanders of brigades, but to have it withheld from the troops for a few days.

At this date Slocum's command, the XIVth and XXth Corps, the former with the badge of the Acorn, and the latter of the Star, was designated The Left Wing of the Army of Georgia. Later its official name was The Army of Georgia. Recruits to enlarge The Army of Georgia had arrived at Chattanooga, and General James B. Steedman in charge there was directed to organize them into four battalions and report them to General Thomas.

General Grant wrote to the Secretary of War November 11th regarding full reports of Sherman's proposed march through Georgia being published the previous day in the newspapers of the North, which he styled the most contraband news he had seen during the war. He was fearful that such publication would lead to the gathering of a force by the South that might be disastrous to Sherman's army. Secretary Stanton laid the blame of the publication largely to Sherman and to his detached and furloughed officers who had retailed it through the North. Grant replied to Stanton that the publication was first made in Indianapolis on authority of army officers direct from Chattanooga. He sent a staff officer to ascertain the names of these divulging officers whom, he declared, he would send to the Dry Tortugas, Florida, for duty without commands for awhile as a warning to others. They were not caught.

General Slocum issued his first general orders under the caption, Headquarters Left Wing, Army of Georgia, Atlanta November 11th. They announced his assuming command of the XIVth and XXth Corps for special service; and that his staff officers would be: Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Rodgers, Assistant Adjutant-General; Major E. W. Guindon, Captain W. W. Moseley, and Captain W. G. Tracy, Aides-de-Camp.

The last railway train having departed from Atlanta November 13th, General Slocum directed General Williams commanding his XXth Corps to begin at once the destruction of the road between Atlanta and the Chattahoochee Bridge, and to bend the rails. The wagon and railway bridges were to be left for the on coming of Colonel Buell of the Pontoniers. By the proper placing of different brigades, the work progressed rapidly, without fear of thus shutting themselves off from their friends and in with their enemies.

The organization of the Left Wing of the Army of Georgia for the march, was as follows:

Major-General Henry W. Slocum commander, with Escort of the 1st Alabama Cavalry, Colonel George E. Spencer, and the 9th Illinois Mounted Infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel T. Hughes. Pontoniers, the 58th Indiana, Colonel George B. Buell. Engineers, 1st Michigan (detachment) Major John B. Yates.

XIVth Corps, Bvt. Maj. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis. 1st Division, Brig. Gen. William P. Carlin. 1st Brigade, Col. Harrison C. Hobart; with the 104th Illinois, Lieut. Col. Douglas Hapeman; 42nd Indiana, Capt. Gideon R. Kellams; 88th Indiana, Lieut. Col. Cyrus E. Briant; 33rd Ohio, Capt. Joseph Hinson; 94th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Rue P. Hutchins; and the 21st Wisconsin, Lieut. Col. Michael H. Fitch. IInd Brigade, Lieut. Col. Joseph H. Brigham; with the 13th Michigan, Lieut. Col. Theodoric R. Palmer; 21st Michigan, Maj. Benton D. Fox; and the 69th Ohio, Capt. Lewis E. Hicks. IIIrd Brigade, Col. Henry A. Hambright and Lieut. Col. David Miles; with the 38th Indiana, Capt. James H. Low; 21st Ohio, Lieut. Col. Arnold McMahan; 74th Ohio, Maj. Joseph Fisher and Maj. Robert P. Findley; 79th Pennsylvania, Lieut. Col. David Miles and Maj. Michael H. Locher.

IInd Division, Brig. Gen. James D. Morgan. Ist Brigade, Col. Robert F. Smith; with the 16th Illinois, Lieut. Col. James B. Cahill; 60th Illinois, Col. William B. Anderson; 10th Michigan, Col. James M. Lumm; 14th Michigan, Maj. Thomas C. Fitzgibbon; and the 17th New York, Lieut. Col. Joel O. Martin. IInd Brigade, Lieut. Col. John S. Pearce; with the 34th Illinois, Capt. Page Ege; 78th Illinois, Lieut. Col. Maris R. Vernon; 98th Ohio, Capt. James R. McLaughlin; 108th Ohio, Maj. Frederick Beck; 113th Ohio, Capt. Toland Jones, and the 121st Ohio, Maj. Aaron B. Robinson. IIIrd Brigade, Lieut. Col. James W. Langley; with the 85th Illinois, Maj. Robert G. Rider; 86th Illinois, Lieut. Col. Allen L. Fahnestock; 110th Illinois (four companies), Lieut. Col. E. Hibbard Topping; 125th Illinois, Capt. George W. Cook; 22nd Indiana, Capt. William H. Snodgrass; and the 52nd Ohio, Lieut. Col. Charles W. Clancy.

IIIrd Division, Brig. Gen. Absalom Baird. Ist Brigade, Col. Morton C. Hunter; with the 82nd Indiana, Lieut. Col. John M. Matheny; 23rd Missouri, Lieut. Col. Quin Morton; 17th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Benjamin H. Showers; 31st Ohio, Capt. Michael Stone; 89th Ohio, Lieut. Col. William H. Glenn; and the 92nd Ohio (with Company A, 24th Illinois attached), Col. Benjamin D. Fearing. IInd Brigade, Col. Newell Gleason; with the 75th Indiana, Maj. Cyrus J. McCole; 87th Indiana, Lieut. Col. Edwin P. Hammond; 101st Indiana, Lieut. Col. Thomas Doan; 2nd Minnesota, Lieut. Col. Judson W. Bishop; and the 105th Ohio, Lieut. Col. George T. Perkins. IIIrd Brigade, Col. George P. Este; with the 74th Indiana, Lieut. Col. Thomas Morgan; 18th Kentucky, Lieut. Col. Hubbard K. Milward; 14th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Albert Moore; and the 38th Ohio, Capt. Charles M. Gilbert.

Artillery, Maj. Charles Houghtaling; with the 1st Illinois Light, Battery C (with detachment of 11th Ohio Infantry attached), Lieut. Joseph R. Channel; 2nd Illinois Light, Battery I, Lieut. Alonzo W. Coe; Indiana Light, 19th Battery, Capt. William P. Stackhouse; and the Wisconsin Light, 5th Battery, Lieut. Joseph McKnight.

XXth Army Corps, Brig. Gen. Alpheus S. Williams. Ist Division, Brig. Gen. Nathaniel J. Jackson. 1st Brigade, Col. James L. Selfridge; with the 5th Connecticut, Lieut. Col. Henry W. Daboll; 123rd New York,

Lieut. Col. James C. Rogers; 141st New York, Capt. William Merrell; and the 46th Pennsylvania, Maj. Patrick Griffith. IInd Brigade, Col. Ezra A. Carman; with the 2nd Massachusetts, Col. William Cogswell; 13th New Jersey, Maj. Frederick H. Harris; 107th New York, Capt. Charles J. Fox and Lieut. Col. Allen N. Sill; 150th New York, Maj. Alfred B. Smith and Col. John H. Ketcham; and the 3rd Wisconsin, Col. William Hawley. IIIrd Brigade, Col. James S. Robinson; with the 82nd Illinois, Maj. Ferdinand H. Rolshausen; 101st Illinois, Lieut. Col. John B. LeSage; 143rd New York, Lieut. Col. Hezekiah Watkins; 61st Ohio, Capt. John Garrett; 82nd Ohio, Lieut. Col. David Thomson; and 31st Wisconsin, Col. Francis H. West.

IInd Division, Brig. Gen. John W. Geary. Ist Brigade, Col. Ario Pardee, Jr.; with the 5th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Robert Kirkup; 29th Ohio, Maj. Myron T. Wright, and Capt. Jonas Schoonover; 66th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Eugene Powell; 28th Pennsylvania, Col. John Flynn; and 147th Pennsylvania (with detachment of Battery E, Pennsylvania Artillery, attached), Lieut. Col. John Craig. IInd Brigade, Col. Patrick H. Jones; with the 33rd New Jersey, Col. George W. Mindil; 119th New York, Col. John T. Lockman; 134th New York, Lieut. Col. Allan H. Jackson; 154th New York, Maj. Lewis D. Warner; 73rd Pennsylvania, Maj. Charles C. Cresson; and the 109th Pennsylvania, Capt. Walter G. Dunn. IIIrd Brigade, Col. Henry A. Barnum; with the 60th New York, Maj. Thomas Elliott; 102nd New York, Lieut. Col. Harvey S. Chatfield; 137th New York, Lieut. Col. Koert S. Van Voorhis; 149th New York, Maj. Nicholas Grumbach; 29th Pennsylvania, Lieut. Col. Samuel M. Zulich, and the 111th Pennsylvania, Lieut. Col. Thomas M. Walker.

IIIrd Division, Brig. Gen. William T. Ward. Ist Brigade, Col. Franklin C. Smith; with the 102nd Illinois, Capt. Hiland H. Clay; 105th Illinois, Maj. Henry D. Brown; 129th Illinois, Col. Henry Case; 70th Indiana, Lieut. Col. Samuel Merrill; and 79th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Azariah W. Doan. IInd Brigade, Col. Daniel Dustin; with the 33rd Indiana, Capt. James E. Burton; 85th Indiana, Lieut. Col. Alexander B. Crane; 19th Michigan, Lieut. Col. John J. Baker, and the 22nd Wisconsin, Lieut. Col. Edward Bloodgood. IIIrd Brigade, Col. Samuel Ross; with the 20th Connecticut, Lieut. Col. Philo B. Buckingham; 33rd Massachusetts, Col. Elisha Doane; 136th New York, Col. Lester B. Faulkner; 55th Ohio, Lieut. Col. Edwin H. Powers; 73rd Ohio, Lieut. Col. Samuel H. Hurst; and the 26th Wisconsin, Lieut. Col. Frederick C. Winkler.

Artillery Brigade, Maj. John A. Reynolds; with the 1st New York Light, Battery I, Capt. Charles E. Winegar; Ist New York Light, Battery M, Lieut. Edward P. Newkirk; Ist Ohio Light, Battery C, Capt. Marco B. Gary, and Lieut. Jerome B. Stephens; and the Pennsylvania Light, Battery E, Capt. Thomas S. Sloan.[90]

The numbers of Slocum's XIVth Corps November 10th, were: Officers, 556; enlisted Volunteer Infantry, 12,397; Artillery officers, 11; men, 388. Those of the XXth Corps

were: Officers, 602; enlisted Volunteer Infantry, 12,862; Artillery, officers, 25; men, 607. Total, 27,448 carefully chosen men of great efficiency. Additions to these numbers soon increased the aggregate to about 30,000. General Howard's Right Wing, of the Army of the Tennessee, was about the same strength. The artillery was reduced to four batteries for each corps, each battery consisting of four light cannon for ready handling, two batteries of 3-inch Rodman cannon, and the other two of 12-pounder Napoleons.

General Judson Kilpatrick's two brigades of cavalry numbered about 5,500 men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The March to the Capitol of Georgia

General Slocum's XXth Corps, the 'Star-badge Corps,' had been supplied with new clothing, and the men had been partially paid. It was started from Atlanta on the great march the morning of November 15th, with only local objective points and temporary plans, going eastward on the road leading through Decatur, northward from Howard's Right Wing of the Army. The IIIrd Brigade of the Ist Division destroyed several miles of the Augusta railroad during the day. Encampment for the night was made near the Georgia railway, south of Stone Mountain. The distance traveled was fifteen miles, which was done with great effort and frequent restings on account of the poor condition of the wagon and artillery teams from their scant and not altogether proper food, the only kind and quantity that had been available. The next evening the camp was near Rock Bridge Postoffice and the evening of the 17th it was near Cornish Creek; and the next evening the stop was three miles west of Madison. The country passed over these three days' march was hilly, and the crossing of Yellow, and Little Haynes, rivers, and of other streams, was attended with difficulty; and numerous other delays made the progress slow and laborious. This corps was accompanied by 220 Pontoniers with their train of 41 wagons and teamsters hauling 440 feet of bridge, and boats, in addition to the corps' regular supply train of wagons.

Slocum's XIVth Corps, the 'Acorn badge Corps,' arrived at Atlanta from the northward early in the morning of the 15th of November, and it bivouacked in the eastern suburbs. During the day and night the men were supplied with clothing, the empty wagons were filled with provisions here stored for them, the trains were equalized, and assigned to the different parts of the corps for the convenience of marching, for protection, and for the ready distribution of rations from them. Early the next morning this corps began the march eastward on the Covington and Decatur road. At the starting of the leading brigade its band both startled and enthused the soldiers with the music of John Brown. The strain was instantly caught up by those within the hearing of the band and it rapidly extended throughout the entire corps, the officers joining in. Sherman was present and he was visibly affected, as were all of the army and corps officers who were informed regarding the desired extent of the movement, and who fully appreciated the full significance of the great undertaking, for the good of the Union cause if successful, and of the great disaster that might result from failure. But, there was practically no thought of failure by the officers now, and much less by the rank and file who were so fully imbued with confidence in their officers that they were ever ready, and anxious, to go wherever their leaders directed, without explanation of place or possible results. They were veterans in whom patriotism, bravery, and confidence in their leaders, had become personified.

The different commands averaged the distance of fifteen miles during the day. The Ist Division stopped for the night at Lithonia; the 17th it marched to Yellow River, 17 miles; and the 18th to Covington, 8 miles, the Ulcofauhachee River at this place requiring another laying of the corps's Pontoon Bridge. A comrade forager was killed by bushwhackers near Covington; and his comrades set fire to all dwellings in the neighborhood in retaliation. The 19th the bridge was taken up and a march of 18 miles was made by part of the corps, other parts encamping near Shady Dale after a march of 12 miles. This corps destroyed the railroad between Lithonia and Yellow River.

The 19th of November General Slocum detached General Geary's IInd Division of the XXth Corps and, unencumbered,

by its trains, it destroyed the Georgia railroad bridge over the Oconee River and the wagon bridges found over this river on the road toward Milledgeville. Several mills and factories were also burned before the division rejoined its corps the 21st at Little River. Probably these fires spread further than intended; but the command could not remain to watch distant buildings. The other two divisions of the XXth Corps passed through Madison and encamped four miles beyond. General Ward's division destroyed about six miles of railroad. Supplies for both men and animals now became abundant. The evening of the 20th the Ist and IIIrd Divisions encamped near Eatonton, and the 21st several miles of the Eatonton Branch Railroad were destroyed.

The course of march each day was outlined the preceding evening by Generals Slocum and Howard, each for his own command. This enabled these commanders to know the relative positions of their corps, divisions, and brigades, practically every hour, that any one or all could be called to another place in case of emergency. It was the policy to spread out on as nearly parallel roads as possible in varying numbers according to the distance of railroad destruction desirable to accomplish, or the condition of the roads, or the want of passable roads. It thus happened that Slocum and Howard's armies were often widely separated—from five to thirty miles. Kilpatrick's cavalry was first at Howard's right and later on Slocum's left, according to the shifting of the enemy's cavalry. The leading command on every road was changed each day. Straggling was not permitted. The different foraging parties enjoyed their work, and considerable rivalry existed. The term 'bummer' originated among themselves. Each had but one suit of outer clothes for their hundreds of miles of march through untold quantities of mud which worked entirely through; and then there were so many thickets of brush to encounter which not only wore but tore, that, altogether, they appeared often hideous to each other. You look like a bummer, said to each other, was sure to be written to their homes as descriptive of their appearance and be reproduced and garnished in the newspapers. But they got the food for themselves and animals which they went for, when there was enough outside the different houses passed to divide.

They did not seek to divide from the poor. They were generally of good parentage, these Union volunteers, and very respectable citizens at home, and as soldiers there were none better. There was no lack of amusement among themselves, for they generated it even in the most trying times of the march. The negroes, while pitied, were at all times full of amusement for them. The buglers sounded the call to get up each morning, and the nights' camping places were chosen as early in the waning days as practicable, good water, fuel for cooking, a sloping dry place in wet weather, and some sheltering trees, being the chief desire. Not infrequently, however, most of these favoring conditions were wanting, even after a long and late march. Different kinds of domestic animals were caught and carried along as pets. Fighting cocks were highly prized and, altogether, none suffered from nostalgia or ennui.

On November 22nd, the XXth Corps crossed Little River over its own Pontoon bridge and encamped in the suburbs of Milledgeville, the Ist and IInd Divisions on the east side of the Oconee and the IIIrd Division on the west side near the bridge. General Slocum appointed Colonel William Hawley as commandant of the Post of Milledgeville, and with two regiments he took command of the town, established a provost guard, and in a few minutes the United States Flag was raised above the dome of the Georgia State House.

General Slocum chose the leading hotel for his headquarters. General Sherman arrived a day or two later, and literally moved his camp equipage into Governor Brown's Executive Mansion from which the governor had fled carrying with him the furniture, carpets, and all foodstuffs including his cabbages, but he had left the State Archives.[91]

The utmost preparations had been made by the governor and the legislature to protect the town. The cadets of the military college were armed and placed on guard to give the Union troops a violent reception. The prisons, including the State Penitentiary, had been opened and the prisoners armed. But all fled precipitately upon Slocum's approach. It was supposed by unbiased people that the pillaging, other than the ordinary foraging for food, was done by these convicts and then attributed to 'Sherman's bummers.'

The United States military officers were much amused upon reading the principal newspapers of the South found numerously in Milledgeville. They contained much war advice 'to the people of Georgia' from General G. T. Beauregard, Senator B. H. Hill, the Confederate Secretary of War, and members of the Confederate Congress assembled in Richmond, and other distant persons, all advising the people to 'rally around their patriotic governor' who had fled leaving the good citizens behind to suffer all the kindly impositions of good will which the Union army was disposed to display. Appeals were made by the newspaper terrorists for the people to block every road, burn or destroy all food that could not be carried away, as the patriotic governor carried away his cabbages, and thus 'the invading army will soon starve in your midst.' The best advice given in these newspapers was to 'trust in an overruling Providence.'

The next day, November 23rd, Slocum's XXth Corps marched through Milledgeville with all of its flags unfurled and its bands playing the then favorite Sunday School piece 'Marching Along.' By this time the numerous citizens who had anxiously petitioned for protection, and had found it in Slocum's excellent Provost Guard, were in good spirits to enjoy the inspiring parade. The best of discipline was maintained everywhere. Later in the day a goodly number of officers occupied the seats in the capitol building vacated the day before by the Georgia Legislature. They appointed a chairman, and a committee on Federal Relations which soon reported a bill declaring that 'the ordinance of secession from the United States was injudicious, indiscreet, and it should be repealed.' A vote being ordered, this report was accepted; and the repeal was adopted by a rising vote. Much other 'business' for the good of the people was transacted in a short time; and the 'session' precipitately 'adjourned' when the cry 'the Yankees are coming' resounded through the hall.

General Slocum's XIVth Corps encamped near the Eatonton factories for the night of November 20th, after a march of 15 miles. The advance of the XXth Corps from Madisonville on the main Milledgeville road, required that the XIVth Corps deflect to the right in order that both corps might move on separate roads. General Slocum, who was at this time with the

XIVth, directed that this corps move for Milledgeville by way of Farrar's Mill or Murder Creek. Heavy rains had fallen during the night and morning, and the progress through the mud was slow and difficult. The night of the 21st was passed in the mud and water in crossing the creek after a march of but six miles. The weather was somewhat better the 22nd, and the march was continued to the vicinity of Cedar Creek where the night was passed. The distance marched this day was twelve miles. Everything was yet more clear the 23rd and the XIVth Corps arrived in the vicinity of Milledgeville in the afternoon after a march of 11 miles. The next day Carlin and Morgan's divisions, with their wagon trains, crossed the Oconee River and went into camp a few miles beyond the bridge preparatory to advancing on Sandersville.

Colonel Hawley, commander of the Post of Milledgeville, reported the destruction of ordnance and stores found there as follows: Muskets, caliber .69, 2,300; accouterments, 300 sets; lances, 5,000; cutlasses, 1,500; ammunition, caliber .69, 10,000 rounds; ammunition, fixed artillery, 170 boxes; powder, 200 kegs. Major John A. Reynolds, Slocum's Chief of Artillery, reported the following fixed ammunition destroyed, in addition to that of the foregoing report: Artillery, 3,500 rounds; infantry, 20,000 rounds; Sharp's primers, 2 boxes; powder, 2,000 pounds. The railway station, two arsenals, a powder magazine, and other public buildings including shops, and about seventeen hundred bales of cotton, were burned.

The railway track for five miles toward Gordon was burned, bent and twisted so as to be of no further use for track. The soldiers on this march developed this railroad destruction as an art, in dry weather, as follows: Where several miles of track were to be destroyed, 3,000 men were detached and divided into three equal sections. Section one advanced along the ends of the ties to be raised, one man to each tie and, at the officer's order, each man raised his tie in unison with the others until it was on end and, at another order, the entire thousand ties were pushed over on top of the rails. The ties were then loosened from the rails, and this section moved along to repeat this work. Section two then placed the ties in cob-house form, thirty in each pile, and put the middle of the rails over the middle of the

piles of ties, conveniently distributing them. Then this section passed after No. 1 again, and it was succeeded by Section three, which set the ties afire and, when the rails were properly heated each one was grasped at its ends by tongs, carried to the nearest tree around which it was bent and then twisted less or more into cruller-doughnut form which permanently destroyed the rails for further track use. The tongs used for this work were devised by Chief Engineer O. M. Poe.[22] The reader should bear in mind the fact that these iron rails were much shorter, smaller and, therefore, much lighter than the steel rails of the present time.

CHAPTER XXXIX

March to the Sea at Savannah Concluded

The Ist and IInd Divisions of General Slocum's XXth Corps resumed the march from Milledgeville November 24th, toward the Ogeechee River and in the direction of Augusta as though this city was his next objective point. This led the enemy to gather and retain their forces there for its protection. Encampment for the night was made near Gum Creek. The next day Slocum was delayed in building a bridge over Buffalo Creek and swamp, and the head column encamped about seven miles from Sandersville after a sharp skirmish with the enemy's cavalry and its dispersion by Colonel James S. Robinson's brigade. The next morning two regiments of Colonel Ezra A. Carman's brigade drove away the enemy's cavalry again, and the corps, turned to the right more in the direction of Charleston, and moved with quickened pace into Sandersville.

Strong efforts had been, and were constantly being, made by the enemy's military and by many people remaining at or near their homes, to stop the progress of the Union army by interposing Confederate cavalry, other military forces that could be gathered, and by starvation, instance the governor running away with his cabbages. Many had skirted ahead along Slocum's left flank to protect Milledgeville and Augusta. Upon leaving the capitol city Slocum's forces were rather more beset by all these forces than before, many having come from their skirmish with Howard at Macon. General Hardee, now directed by

Beauregard, appeared upon the scene, in report, with an army between Miledgeville and Augusta for the protection of the last named place. It was part of the plan of the Union forces, however, to feint toward a prominent place for the purpose of having the enemy concentrate there, and by the time the concentration was effected, the Union forces would be miles in another direction.

A Confederate order had been published for the planters to destroy all corn (maize) and fodder that the horses and mules of the 'invaders' might be starved. Sherman checkmated this move by widely circulating among the planters by means of the numerous negroes, that wherever they destroyed the food for his animals, his army would make the devastation complete. This was a practical lesson for everyone that a United States Army had full right to gather food for soldiers and its dumb helpers, and any other supply that could be found, in any part of the United States' domain.

The head of the column of the XIVth Corps arrived at Sandersville the 26th of November, just as the XXth Corps's skirmishers were rapidly driving a detachment of the enemy's cavalry under General Wheeler from the town. The next day the XIVth Corps's trains, under escort of Carlin's division, moved by the way of Davisborough, to Louisville, while Baird and Morgan's divisions, thus unhampered, moved on the Fenn's Bridge Road, thus protecting the left flank of the trains from the enemy's cavalry, such protection from the ever watchful cavalry being a constant feature of every day's march, and night's encampment, in addition to the constant work of the Union cavalry under General Kilpatrick who managed to keep most of the detachments of Wheeler's cavalry busy elsewhere. Baird and Morgan's divisions arrived at Louisville early in the afternoon of the 28th and at once began laying their pontoon bridge. Carlin's division arrived at the Ogeechee at 3 P. M. and in the evening joined their comrades around Louisville. The roadway through the extensive Cypress Swamp hereabouts was difficult and laborious to keep in even passable condition after each succeeding wagon. Early in the morning of November 29th Kilpatrick applied for help against the enemy's cavalry, and General Slocum directed his General Davis to dispatch a brigade

of infantry to his assistance. Together they soon scattered the enemy with a vigor that made him more wary of approach; and that night Kilpatrick with his men returned to the corps's encampment on the east side of Big Creek. The next day there was skirmishing again with the enemy, who made several attempts to drive in the corps's pickets. This day General Slocum directed Carlin's division to march to Sabastopol with a view to keeping away the enemy, and thus uncovering the crossing of the Ogeechee at that point. The IIIrd Division of the XXth Corps which was left at Milledgeville to protect the wagon trains, met the other two divisions at Sandersville and it remained there while the others marched to Tennille Station. The 1st Michigan engineers had reported to this corps on the 27th for duty, and the next two days the Central Georgia Railway, and all wagon bridges over the Williamson Swamp Creek were destroyed; also those from Tennille to and including the Ogeechee River. The 30th, these divisions marched up this river to Coward's Bridge, which they repaired. The IIIrd Division moved with the trains by way of Davisborough, across the Ogeechee and Rocky Comfort Rivers, and encamped with their comrades about three miles south of Louisville. The roads were generally good excepting at the river and swamp crossings. The country very level, and the weather was pleasant. The foraging parties were generally successful, and the teams rapidly improved in condition, as did the soldiers in spirit as well as physically. Turkeys abounded, and a general observation of Thanksgiving day resulted, although the march continued. The prison pen at Millen for the enemy's Union prisoners was visited and found vacated. This notorious place of imprisonment is situated near the railway about five miles north of Millen, Georgia. The 'pen' was nearly square and was surrounded by a stockade of heavy upright pine logs cut in the neighborhood. They extended above the ground from twelve to fifteen feet. The inclosure embraced about fifteen acres of cleared land, through the eastern part of which extended a ravine which had been made by a small stream of drainage water. Running around the inside and about thirty feet from the stockade was a continuous railing of light scantling supported by short posts. This was known as the dead line, outside of which no one could go with-

out being shot by the guards stationed on top of the stockade with sentry boxes about eighty yards apart. About one-third of the western portion of the pen was occupied by a crowd of irregular earthern huts which were evidently made by the prisoners. Three dead Union soldiers were found in these huts; and they were buried by their visiting compatriots. A short distance outside the stockade was a long trench at the head of which had been placed a board on which was written 650 buried here. About 3,000 Union soldiers who had been captured by the Confederate armies in varying numbers at different times and places, were imprisoned here. The death rate was very large from insufficient and not altogether wholesome food and diseases. The enlisted men remaining were taken southward shortly before the arrival of General Slocum's men. The principal officers who were here imprisoned, were taken northward. The air of the inclosure and neighborhood was yet very unwholesome. On rising ground a short distance southeast of this inclosure two forts were in advanced stage of construction, to command the region in all directions.[118] Crossing the now destroyed railroad three miles north of Millen, General Geary now became involved in an almost impassable swamp between Buckhead Creek and the Ogeechee River, and his command could travel but ten miles that day with great difficulty.

From the 1st to the 8th of December the line of march of the XXth Corps was down the peninsula between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers, generally along the Louisville and Savannah wagon road. Encampment for the night of the 1st was at Baker's Creek; for the 2nd, at Buck Head Church; the 3rd at Horse Creek; the 4th at Little Ogeechee; the 5th at Sylvania Cross Roads; the 6th near Cowpen's Creek; the 7th by Jack's Branch near Springfield, and the 8th near Elm Cross Roads. The surface of the country continued flat and became swampy. Large ponds of water were passed about every mile, and the creeks were frequently spread into several branches. The roads had a sandy surface which was firm for light vehicles, but through which the heavy wagon trains cut, and then settled into deep quicksand. It was necessary to corduroy stretches of miles of this road. The fog was here dense particularly during the

nights. Torches were of little use in it. By several of the swamps through which the Union army had to pass, the enemy had cut down trees across the road which generally delayed the march but little; but occasionally the enemy's troops were here met who delayed the progress on account of their advantageous positions. Supplies continued ample in the open country, and the weather favorable.

The direction of the march was changed December 9th, more to the eastward and along the road from Edon to Montieth Postoffice on the Charleston Railway. In the large Montieth Swamp the enemy had cut trees to fall across the road, and had built two small earthworks beyond, which were manned by about 400 infantrymen with a cannon. Plans were at once made for capturing all of the enemy at this place but, before the obstructing trees could be cut and moved away, all of the at first pretentious opposing force escaped, and hurriedly, before the Union small arms at long range. They left a considerable quantity of new clothing and accounterments. They killed one and wounded four of Slocum's men. They carried away their killed and wounded comrades.

In the early morning of December 10th, the march was continued to Montieth Station on the Charleston Railway. After destroying several miles of this road, advance was made to near the Five-Mile Post from Savannah, on the Augusta Railroad. Here the enemy's strong line of the out defenses of Savannah were determined in their front aspect, as fronting on swamps and artificial ponds. It being late in the day, preparations were made for encampment. A party of foragers, including cavalrymen and artillerymen, succeeding in capturing the enemy's dispatch boat Ida, near the lower part of Argyle Island, Savannah River (see map). This boat bore dispatches for gunboats above, with Colonel Clinch of Confederate General Hardee's staff. Unfortunately the boat caught fire and was destroyed.

On the 11th, when Slocum was extending his line to the left, he was attacked by the enemy whom he drove back into the fortifications; and Slocum placed his men as he desired, from the Savannah River with his left, to the Central Railway on his right, his line being in advance of Pipemaker's Creek.

General Baird's IIIrd Division of Slocum's XIVth Corps, with Kilpatrick and his cavalry, had marched in the direction of Waynesborough and Birdville, the objective points of their comrades of the XXth Corps. General Morgan, with his IInd Division, was directed to move on the direct road to Buck Head Bridge in full charge of the XIVth Corps wagon trains, and to encamp ten miles from Louisville. December 2nd General Carlin, with his Ist Division, joined his comrades from his flank movement in the direction of Sabastopol, and the corps encamped at the crossing of the Birdville and Waynesborough roads about two miles from the bridge. Keeping informed of all details regarding roads, the position of General Howard's Right Wing men, and directing from day to day the order and lines of march, General Slocum, December 3d, changed the previously suggested route of the XXth Corps, and ordered deflection of the XIVth Corps to cross the Buck Head by pontoons about five miles further up the stream. Jacksonborough was designated by Slocum as the place of the next meeting of his two corps. Baird and Kilpatrick were ordered to move from Reynolds toward Waynesborough that the enemy's watchful cavalry might infer that Augusta was yet their objective point. December 4th Carlin and Morgan's divisions destroyed three miles of railroad and, with the corps's wagon trains, marched through Habersham in the direction of Jacksonborough and encamped on the farm of Mrs. Smith, thirteen miles from Lumpkin's Station. In the meanwhile Baird and Kilpatrick attacked the larger force of Wheeler's cavalry and drove them through Waynesborough and across Brier Creek. Baird also destroyed three miles of railroad near Thomas's Station. The evening of the next day, after laborious repairing and marching over poor roads, the entire XIVth Corps, with Kilpatrick's cavalry, encamped in the neighborhood of Jacksonborough, the advance line being at Buck Creek Postoffice. The enemy had destroyed the bridge across Beaver Dam Creek near Jacksonborough. A bridge was here built in the night by the engineers and, in the early morning of the 6th, the XIVth Corps and cavalry crossed and passed on to the river, encamping at Hudson's Ferry, after an average march of twenty miles. December 7th the march was continued in the same order, Baird and Kilpatrick pro-

tecting the rear, unincumbered by the wagon trains. Morgan's second division, with the pontoon train, arrived at Ebenezer Creek late in the evening, and they at once began to clear the road of the trees that had been felled across it by the enemy. This proved a serious work as it extended through the extensive swamp on both sides of the creek. The pontoniers also began work on the bridge. At midday the 8th the first column began to cross this 'formidable defile.' Constant work was required, however, with each wagon and cannon all the way; and it required all the day and night, and until daylight of the morning of the 9th, to get all parts of the corps and cavalry across. This, however, was but one of the many days, and nights, of serious difficulties encountered on this great march by this veteran army; and these difficulties were all manfully met, and overcome. While this strenuous work was in progress, the enemy's cavalry made repeated charges on the rear picket guards, but they received each time more harm than they caused. The morning of the 9th of December, the march of the XIVth Corps was continued from Ebenezer's Church to Cuyler's Plantation, the second division leading. Here the enemy was found behind a strong earthwork for the purpose of opposing the onward march of the Unionists. Two field guns were immediately placed in position for work against the enemy's fortifications, and they did good execution. Some infantry officers desired to deploy for an assault; but the night was near, and an impassable swamp in the enemy's front made a front attack at this time impracticable, and preparations were made for some rest during the night. The enemy abandoned his position in the night. The 10th, the Ist and IInd Divisions, with the trains, marched to the 10-Mile (from Savannah) House and encamped, thus giving the onward road to the XXth Corps which was now arriving by the Monteith Road. The IIIrd Division was ordered to guard the rear of parts of the XIVth Corps while they were breaking the railroad to the Savannah River crossing.

CHAPTER XL

The Enemy Escapes. Slocum Occupies Savannah

On the 11th day of December, General Slocum's XIVth Corps marched down the Augusta Road and took position on the right of his XXth Corps in front of the strong defenses of Savannah. This relieved the XVIIth Corps of General Howard's command on the Louisville Road and the neighborhood of the Ogeechee Canal to the right of which the XVIIth was repositioned.

During the ten days' investment of Savannah that now followed, General Slocum, with his two corps, Army of Georgia, was actively engaged in skirmishing with the enemy, reconnoitering his lines in detail, and in making preparations for a general attack. Many points in the enemy's extended line were found accessible for assault.

Slocum reported to Sherman the 11th that he had sent a regiment across the Savannah River into South Carolina (he being the first of Sherman's command to enter this State) to reconnoiter the country. He also reported that the left of his line was in very close proximity to the enemy in his intrenchments, and that he, Slocum, was constructing two earth redoubts on the right bank of the Savannah River. The next day Slocum's batteries intercepted two more of the enemy's gun-boats that were convoying a naval transport from above to Savannah. The gun-boats were obliged to retire out of range of Slocum's artillery leaving the transport with 27 or more Confederate naval men, officers and crew, to fall into Slocum's possession.

On the 13th, Slocum issued to his troops a circular announcing that regularly organized foraging parties from both corps could explore both sides of the river, and that all guards would respect their passes.

General Sherman continued very communicative, and when he could not visit Slocum he wrote to him often, freely and familiarly; in fact, Sherman's ever-ready pen was his constant companion. He was pleased with the capture of the boats, but he cautioned Slocum against attempting too much. December 15th Slocum received a long communication from Sherman who had just returned from a visit down the Ogeechee River to Ossa-

baw and Wassaw Sounds, where he opened communication with the United States Atlantic fleet, and by it with Grant and Washington. Arrangements were made to receive the supplies brought down the coast by the fleet that had been expecting the arrival of Sherman and his men for several days. These supplies embraced 600,000 rations for the men, and ten days' forage for 40,000 horses and mules. The fleet was to deliver, also, six 20-pounder Parrott guns and six 30-pounder Parrotts with 300 rounds of ammunition for each gun. General Slocum replied at once with the following important historical letter:

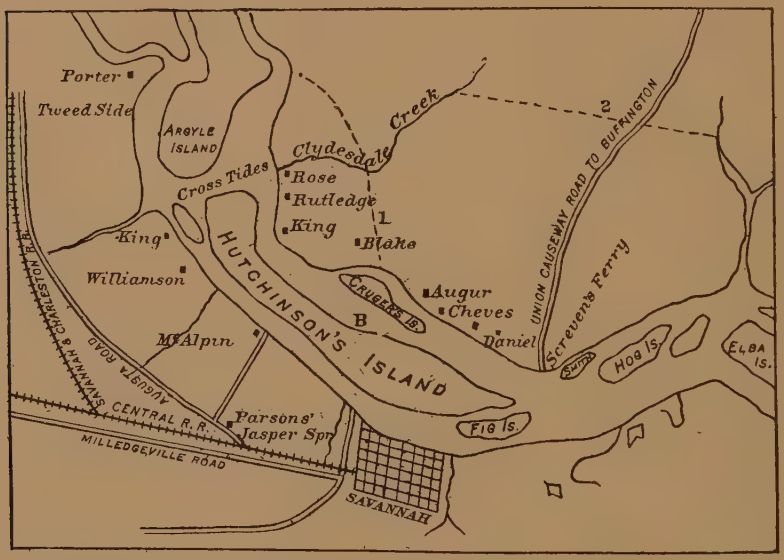
Headquarters Left Wing, Army of Georgia,
Major-General Sherman. December 15, 1864, 9 P. M.

GENERAL: I have two regiments on the Carolina shore north of Clydesdale Creek. To-morrow morning the remainder of the brigade, three additional regiments, will endeavor to take the line from Clydesdale Creek to a point by the Savannah River opposite to Cruger's Island, with orders to intrench on that line and feel forward toward the causeway road. With your consent I will try to place a division on the line marked 2 on the inclosed diagram [shown opposite]. It will be necessary to move with some caution on that side; and, to render the position entirely safe, it may be necessary to throw an entire corps over, with instructions to intrench strongly. There are many points in front of our present position that can be guarded by a good picket line. If a portion of the line now held by Davis can be held by General Howard, or by the troops under General Foster, the XXth Corps can be spared, and I will seal up that side of the city and be in position to shell every portion of it. I shall go no further than to send a brigade over to take the line marked 1 until I hear from you; but I have no fear of placing a corps on that side; and this done the fate of the city is sealed. I think Foster's command might be of use in the swamps on this side if placed behind the line already established. I think there are points on the left of my line from which the city can be shelled with those heavy guns to more advantage than on the right of the line. The point held by Carlin, where Mower was, is within three miles and a half of the city, but there are points nearer the river quite as close, and from which the city can be seen. Please give me your views as to the propriety of attempting to throw one entire corps over. We can send supplies via Argyle Island, which is held by us. The enemy hold the lower part of Hutchinson's Island, and command the whole island with their batteries on this side. They also send a small gun-boat up to a point between Cruger's and Hutchinson's, at a point marked B [see sketch]. She has one heavy gun and gives us some annoyance. She is just out of range of our field guns.

Very respectfully, your opedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM. Major-General.[92]

This letter is a good illustration of Slocum's watchfulness, correct observing powers, and earnest desire to promote the best interest of the service. Had his suggestions here noted been accepted by Sherman, it is very evident to every careful reader, that the Confederate General Hardee's army then in Savannah would have soon capitulated to the Union forces without much of a showing for battle, but Sherman's peculiarity was here again exhibited in the following note which he at once dictated:



Showing the Union Causeway, the Route of General Hardee's Escape from Savannah. The Dotted Line 2 is where General Slocum wanted to Capture Hardee and his Army. Line 1 is where Sherman insisted upon Slocum's staying

In the Field near Savannah, Ga.
Major-General Howard's Hdqrs., Dec. 15, 1864, 11.30 P. M.

Maj. Gen. H. W. SLOCUM, Comdg. Left Wing, Army of Georgia:

GENERAL: The general-in-chief directs me to write you as follows: "Your note of 9 P. M. is just received. For the present do not send more than one brigade, and instead of threatening south toward the Union Causeway, rather let it threaten eastward toward the road marked as running up toward Augusta on the east side of the Savannah River, seemingly threatening in flank the movement of troops attempting to escape from Savannah. There are some points which I will explain in person as soon as I can ride over to see you. A messenger is just arrived from General Grant with dispatches of importance. Prepare for the

rifled guns and get them into position as soon as possible. Let the engineer regiment continue to destroy the railroad, and cover their work up as far as the bridge, including it if possible. After making some letters to-morrow I will come over to see you. Also get from the island in the river all the rice you can as forage for your horses.''[93]

The Confederate Generals Hardee, Hood, Johnston, and others had escaped from Sherman's grasp in northwestern Georgia, and Hardee was to escape again from Sherman not heeding Slocum's practicable suggestion, and desire, to 'seal up' the avenue of his escape.[96]

General Sherman, while at Slocum's headquarters December 17th, sent a flag with letter to General Hardee in Savannah, reading that he, Sherman, held and controlled every avenue by which the garrison in Savannah could be supplied, and stating the fact that sea-going vessels were passing through Ossabaw Sound and thence up the Ogeechee River to the rear of the Union Army, delivering various supplies including heavy ordnance by which the city could be reduced; and he asked Hardee for the surrender of the city and its dependent forts. Hardee replied by the same flag, informing Sherman that he ''was incorrect that he had for some days held and controlled every avenue by which the people and garrison could be supplied,'' and adding ''I am in free and constant communication with my department. Your demand for the surrender of Savannah and its dependent forts is refused.''[94]

Notwithstanding this confirmation of Slocum's letter informing Sherman that Savannah was not an unsealed city, Sherman gave no attention to its proper sealing as Slocum desired to do; and he gave orders that the preparations for bombardment, and assault, be rapidly completed, which, if carried out, would have cost hundreds if not thousands of lives, many of them innocent citizens. Slocum, the true soldier that he was, acted promptly upon these orders of his ranking general, and he soon reported his command in readiness for further orders. He further informed Sherman that he felt confident that he could reduce the central part of the city with his own artillery, and make successful assault in several places of the enemy's line in his front. All of this and much more Sherman wrote to General Grant on the 18th in a very long letter.

Slocum continued active meanwhile. He called the attention of his corps commanders to the making of fascines from straw and canebrakes; and the practicing with pontoon bridge materials which he had been investigating, that all might be readily available for use in swampy places. He also requested frequent reviews of the situation that no feature of the whole, or in detail, of the important work before them be overlooked or neglected.

On the 19th of December General Sherman again went down the Ogeechee to the bay, to get the cooperation of Rear Admiral Dahlgren and his ironclad ships for the reduction of Savannah. He sent word to Slocum to be ready. The next morning at 8 o'clock Slocum notified Sherman's headquarters that he was fully prepared to execute any orders that the general-in-chief might issue. Regarding the cannon that Sherman promised to send, nothing could be learned by Slocum's teamsters who had been long waiting their arrival at the designated place. Reply from general headquarters, dated 12 M., read that nothing could be learned about the guns. Another reply from Sherman's assistant adjutant-general dated 5 P. M., read that "The general-in-chief has not returned, and has not authorized any orders. We are, therefore, in a respectable condition to remain quiet until he gives orders of execution."

All parts of General Slocum's army continued most vigilant and alert. The faithful and brave Colonel Barnum of Slocum's XXth Corps was in command of his brigade which was stationed on the extreme left of the Union forces adjoining the Savannah River. About midnight of December 20th, hearing no sounds from the enemy's front, General Slocum started Barnum to reconnoiter the enemy's line about three hundred yards in front of his own front. Barnum passed through his own picket line with ten well chosen men, giving notice to his pickets to the right and left of his errand. From a good point of observation they discussed the situation. Now and then what they thought to be a gun-discharge sounded in the distance, but not a man could be seen on picket duty although the enemy's fires were burning along his outer line. Barnum led the way to the outside intrenchment and found everything quiet. Report was sent to General Slocum who at once reinforced the party to the extent

of General Geary's entire division. They marched to and over the several lines of the enemy's intrenchments and not a man could be seen. General Slocum advanced for the purpose of occupying the city and maintaining order. This was accomplished before daybreak, and report was forwarded accordingly to General Hooker's headquarters.

General Hardee had made good his escape over the Union Causeway that Slocum had desired to occupy for his capture. Again Hardee was indebted to Sherman for his second escape from capture by Union troops; and yet a third escape from the same source awaited him in North Carolina, as will be shown in due time.

At daybreak General Slocum notified Admiral Dahlgren in his flagship off the bay of his possession of the city, and that the river contained many torpedoes and other obstructions for the injury of ships endeavoring to navigate it.

The Mayor of Savannah sent a flag late in the night to Sherman's headquarters informing of the evacuation by Hardee, that the city was entirely defenseless, and he requested protection of the lives and property of the citizens 'and of our women and children.' This request was called forth by the rioting and plundering, begun by some of the lower class people of Savannah's own population as soon as the rear column of Hardee's fleeing troops crossed the river. All of this was stopped as soon as Slocum's men entered the city at four A. M., led by General Geary's IInd Division of the XXth Corps; and Geary was directed by Slocum to assume the office of commander of the post. Colonel William B. Woods of the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry was appointed provost marshal of that part of the city east of Bull Street, and the others of Geary's division took possession of all to the westward. Geary soon reported to General Slocum that a detachment of his men had occupied Fort Jackson. Just before the retreat of the enemy he set fire to the officers' quarters, which fire had extended and exploded one of the powder magazines. The fire was extinguished by Slocum's men. Later in the day Colonel John Flynn reported an inventory of the ordnance and stores found in and around this fort, showing its importance, as follows: Of cannon, 4 64-pounders; 44 32-pounders; 2 10-inch Columbiads; 20 8-inch Columbiads; 2 Rifled 32-

pounders; 12 24-pound howitzers; 3 10-inch mortars; 1 8-inch mortar; 3 3-inch rifled pieces. Of ammunition there were: 400 10-inch solid shot; 587 8-inch solid shot; 149 of 7-inch, and 2,272 of 6-inch solid shot; 411 10-inch shells; 320 8-inch, and 120 6-inch; 15 8-inch grape; 27 7-inch, and 13 6-inch; 32 8-inch canister, 41 7-inch, 60 6-inch, and 32 6½-inch; 224 6½-inch shells fixed, 130 8-inch, and 48 6½-inch conical shells fixed; and 50 pounds rifled musket powder, much other had been exploded, and more thrown into the water. Many of the gun carriages had been designedly injured, and 14 of the 91 guns were spiked and shotted. There were no lanterns at hand at the time of this report, consequently but little had been done in examining the unexploded magazines.

Sherman's adjutant-general made continued inquiry for his chief among the vessels of the fleet about the bay and its tributaries and, at last, it was determined that he had gone to Hilton Head, South Caorlina. Late in the day of the 22nd Sherman learned of the escape of the enemy, and he then made haste to telegraph to President Lincoln that "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition and, also about 25,000 bales of cotton." The number of large guns mentioned by Sherman included those of the several fortifications in and around the city; but he made no reference to the enemy whose escape he had shielded and let escape, to vigorously oppose the Union forces in their further march through the mud!

CHAPTER XLI

Clearing for Advance. Reports of Savannah Campaign

The offices of General Slocum, and of his adjutant-general, and inspector's departments, occupied the Central Railroad Bank Building, adjoining the United States Custom House. The Exchange Building was occupied as the offices of the other staff departments. The United States Government at once provided for the re-establishment of the post-office, and of its other departments, supplies for which were brought by the coast fleet.

The Savannah Campaign being at an end, preparations at once began for another campaign. Sherman began correspond-

ence with Lieutenant-General Grant, and the Department of War, regarding the best course for his armies to pursue.

Confederate General Wheeler and his cavalry continued to hover around as near as practicable. December 24th Sherman replied to Wheeler's flag with note, that "I will let that lady land, but no more. No provision has been made for the families in Savannah, and many of them will suffer from want—and I will not undertake to feed them. I will give notice that all families who wish to leave can do so, and I will provide the means of getting them to General Hardee's headquarters. You need not send in for small parties, and I will not permit any more flags of truce by subordinate commanders. P. S. If your pickets fire on our boats, I will clear Savannah and the river of all unfriendly parties."[95]

The thoroughly disciplined veterans of Slocum's command made good and efficient municipal governors. The city fire department was reported in good condition, and it was continued in service, and held responsible. It was so with the water works, and gas works. Captain Silas Spicer was appointed harbor master of the port. An early hour for closing the streets to all others than the guards, were strictly enforced to all persons without proper passes.

All persons within the city who had been in any way connected with the enemy's army, were required to report to Captain Ira B. Seymour, and there to register their names with all particulars. It is but just in this connection to write a good word regarding General O. O. Howard, commander of the Right Wing of these combined armies. Christmas day he wrote to Rev. Mr. Wynn, Methodist clergyman, namely: "Have the kindness to receive and aid your Christian brother George W. Pepper, Chaplain Eightieth Ohio Infantry, giving him such facilities for serving your church as will not materially interrupt your own work." This regiment was thus enabled to enjoy an unique experience in army life, of listening to its Chaplain without standing, or sitting on the ground. Citizens did not attend these services numerously.

Christmas day General Slocum issued his General Orders, Number three, for his corps commanders to make strict preparations for another military campaign. As a beginning of such

preparation, "all officers who, by intemperance, inefficiency, or ignorance of their duties, have shown themselves unqualified for the positions they hold, should at once be reported for dismissal." The next day Sherman requested Slocum to detail a competent engineer from his command to report to Brigadier-General Langdon C. Easton with a party for the purpose of examining the Savannah River and removing obstacles found in it. This day Slocum ordered announced the following additions to his staff: Lieut. Col. S. H. Sturdevant, chief commissary of subsistence, and 1st Lieutenant William Ludlow, chief engineer.

Special field orders were issued December 26th announcing the United States Post of Savannah and vicinity; the duties of the municipal authorities as subservient to the military; protection for all worthy persons and to their business, including not more than two newspapers whose editors would be held to the strictest accountability.

General Slocum's soldiers found lumber with which they built neat houses in the ample public parks to shield them from the high winds during the cool nights; and the children played around them during the days. The citizens remained quietly and closely in their homes.

There was much heard from day to day, however, from numerous citizens more pronounst inveighing, than had been muttered from Atlanta to Savannah, against South Carolina with expressed hopes that the army would inflict a greater punishment on that State as the chief instigator of the war; and that as far as Georgia was concerned the war was at an end. Many of Hardee's troops had deserted him, and the Confederacy.

General Sherman gave audience to twenty or more of the negro preachers of good address and, upon their request for his advice, he told them that, while they and their congregations were free men and women, they should not do any violence to their former masters; that whenever reasonable agreements could be made with them or others they would best remain, do good work, and save the money received for it. The Secretary of War, Stanton, was present with Sherman at one meeting with the colored clergymen of every denomination in the city. He made notes of their expressions, and, later, he expressed surprise at

their comprehension of the real causes of the war; that they understood and stated the principles of the question as well as anyone could. Adjutant-general Townsend of the United States Army was also present at this meeting, which lasted until late in the night.[115]

Would-be speculators in cotton, and in all other openings for gain, began to appear in Savannah, even those who had virtually kidnapped negroes and held them confined until they could sell them to recruiting officers for the army, and all, being threatened by Sherman with arrest, took the next ship for New York.

After the settlement of the course of the next campaign through the Carolinas, the general opinion was that it would be attended with far more danger to the armies than was the March to the Sea. Savannah citizens were free with their belief that it would be 'a march into the jaws of destruction.' Hardee would confront them with an army of 30,000 men, and R. E. Lee could send an army by rail to meet them at a point advantageous to himself—they not thinking that Lee could be taken care of by General Grant. Neither Slocum nor his men were unduly apprehensive, each feeling assured by past experience that vigilance and their other characteristic soldierly virtues would well withstand the Carolinas, as well as they had withstood Georgia.

General Sherman yet persisted in 'carrying with him' The Headquarters of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which act, with many of his other acts, has been criticised as savoring of pedantry, or worse, on his part, and as detracting from the merits of the worthy commanders in the fields of operation.[96] By order of Sherman, December 27th, the general business headquarters of this Military Division of the Mississippi was formally transferred from Nashville, Tennessee, to Savannah, Georgia, with the six officers in charge of the clerical work.[97]

The success of the United States armies in Georgia, as well as elsewhere, brought into the open many men of strong and worthy character and sincere love for the Union, who had been suppressed by circumstances beyond their control. A number of such men in Liberty and Tattnall Counties, Georgia, made themselves known to General Sherman and elicited from him a patriotic and otherwise commendable letter full of sympathy, and with proffer of support.[98]

The chief engineer of the armies, Captain O. M. Poe, was directed to present plans for a line of defenses for the city of Savannah, and commanders of the troops were called upon to assist as much as possible. Plans were produced that proved practicable and efficient.

Every effort was made to stimulate a just pride and self respect among the troops. They were refitted with clothing and arms, and every incitement given to the various drillings for good soldierly bearing at all times and in all ways. The systematic discipline embraced all phases of garrison, field, and encampment duties, particularly for those received from General Foster. Gambling was prohibited, and the soldiers' time in camp was quite fully occupied in recitation courses of various kinds, to which the lower rank officers were also subjected by those of higher rank. Foraging was here restricted to food for horses and mules, as the Christmastide supplies from the coast fleet were ample for the men. Dress parades were of frequent occurrence, with reviews within the city by corps and other army officers, including General Sherman. Necessary fatigue work was carried forward both in and around the city, including the erection of new fortifications.

The latter part of December General Slocum moved his XXth Corps across the Savannah River for the purpose of destroying the railroad running northward. Other parts of the armies were moved further outside the city. December 31st Sherman wrote to Halleck that he had been reviewing the troops of his armies, and that he felt a just pride in their fine soldierly condition and their perfect equipment. He asked to be reinforced at Wilmington or Fayetteville, North Carolina, by the detachments from them that were left in Tennessee.

The abstract of the return of the Union forces at Savannah, Georgia, December 31st, showed the Left Wing, The Army of Georgia, composed as follows:

General Headquarters, Major-General Henry W. Slocum commanding, with staff of 7 officers.

XIVth Army Corps, General J. C. Davis, commanding: 598 officers, and 13,722 Volunteer Veteran Infantry present for duty, with 16 cannon.

XXth Army Corps, General A. S. Williams, commanding:

654 officers, with 13,464 Veteran Volunteer Infantry present for duty, with 16 cannon. Aggregate present and absent, 28,788.

In his report of the Savannah Campaign, under date of January 1, 1865, General Sherman expressed the following compliment to the commanders of his armies, namely: "In the body of my army I feel a just pride. Generals Howard and Slocum are gentlemen of singular capacity and intelligence, thorough soldiers and patriots, working day and night, not for themselves but for their country and their men."

General Slocum's report of the Savannah Campaign reads as follows:

HEADQUARTERS LEFT WING, Army of Georgia.
Savannah, Ga., January 9, 1865.

CAPTAIN: I have the honor of submitting the following report of operations of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps during the recent campaign:

By virtue of Special Field Orders No. 120, headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi, November 9, 1864, the army, then in the field near Kingston and Atlanta, was divided into wings, the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps constituting the Left Wing of the army. Prior to this organization these corps had formed a part of the Army of the Cumberland, under Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas, the Fourteenth under command of Bvt. Maj. Gen. J. C. Davis, and the Twentieth Corps under my command. After the capture of Atlanta the Twentieth Corps occupied the city and the line of works constructed by the enemy, and was engaged in the construction of a new line of works designed to enable a small garrison to hold the place. Heavy details were constantly employed in this work from October 5 to November 1. On the 29th of September General Morgan's division of the Fourteenth Corps moved by railroad to Chattanooga and Huntsville, to protect our communications which were then threatened by the enemy under General Forrest. The other two divisions moved with the main army in its operations against the enemy under General Hood.

On the 24th of October General Morgan's division rejoined the corps at Gaylesville, Alabama. On the 2nd of November this corps was concentrated at Kingston, Georgia, where preparations were made for the campaign just closed. On the 13th of November it was engaged in the destruction of the railroad from Etowah River to Big Shanty, and on the 14th moved to Atlanta. During this movement the Twentieth Corps was left for the defense of Atlanta. The hospitals of every corps of the army, containing many of our sick and wounded, were located within the line of works constructed by the enemy; and the nature of the movement of our forces operating against General Hood had also compelled the commanders of every corps to leave at this point a portion

of their artillery, together with all surplus transportation and stores. In addition to the troops and stores belonging strictly to the Twentieth Corps, there remained at the post [Atlanta] 12,700 wounded, sick, and convalescent soldiers, eighty pieces of artillery, and over 5,000 horses and mules, together with much other valuable property. The duty of protecting this property and securing supplies for the garrison and forage for the animals devolved upon the Twentieth Corps. At the time our railroad communication was destroyed at Kingston and Big Shanty, the amount of subsistence stores on hand was deemed amply sufficient to sustain the garrison until communication could be re-established; but it was subsequently found necessary to send a portion of the supplies to the main army at Rome. The supply of forage on hand was not sufficient for the animals for over three days. I was therefore compelled not only to reduce the issue of meat to a half ration, but to resort to the country for supplies of subsistence as well as forage. From the 10th of October to the 4th of November foraging expeditions were sent into the country, all of which were completely successful, and conducted with but small loss of life. About 2,000,000 pounds of corn and a large quantity of fodder were collected on these expeditions, together with subsistence for the foraging parties. Great credit is due General Geary, Colonels Robinson, Dustin, and Carman, the officers commanding the several expeditions; also to Colonel Garrard and the brigade of cavalry under his command.

The Twentieth Corps left Atlanta on the morning of November 15, marching by Stone Mountain and Social Circle to Madison, arriving at the latter place on the evening of the 18th. At that point General Geary's division moved to the Oconee and destroyed the railroad bridge over that river, the other divisions moving direct to Milledgeville via Eatonton, Geary's division rejoining the corps at Little River. The corps arrived at Milledgeville on the 22nd of November. Two regiments were sent forward to take possession of the city and established the necessary guards.

The Fourteenth Corps left Atlanta on the morning of November 16 and moved, via Decatur, Covington, and Shady Dale, to Milledgeville, arriving at the latter place November 23rd.

The Georgia railroad was destroyed by the Fourteenth Corps from Lithonia to Yellow River, and from Social Circle to Madison by the Twentieth Corps. It was also broken at several points between Madison and the Oconee River, and the bridge at that river was burned by Geary's division of the Twentieth Corps.

On the 24th of November both corps moved from near Milledgeville to Sandersville, the Fourteenth via Black Spring, and the Twentieth via Hebron. The two corps reached Sandersville almost simultaneously on the morning of November 26, driving the enemy's cavalry very rapidly through the town. On the 27th both corps moved toward Louisville, two divisions of the Fourteenth, unencumbered by wagons, going via Fenn's Bridge for the purpose of protecting our left flank and to uncover the

crossing of Ogeechee River and Rocky Comfort Creek at a point near Louisville. Two divisions of the Twentieth Corps moved along the Georgia Central Railroad, from Tennille to Ogeechee River, destroying the road and bridges. The remaining division of each corps, with all the trains, moved on an interior road direct to Louisville. The bridges over the Ogeechee River and Rocky Comfort Creek had been destroyed by the enemy, but a pontoon bridge was soon constructed by Colonel Buell, and on the 29th both corps were encamped near Louisville, Georgia.

Two divisions of the Fourteenth Corps left Louisville December 1st, crossing Buck Head Creek five miles above the church, and passing through Habersham, reached Jacksonborough on the 5th. Baird's division moved from Louisville in support of the cavalry, and made a demonstration in the direction of Waynesborough, rejoining the corps at Jacksonborough. The Twentieth corps left Louisville December 1st, crossing Buck Head Creek at the church, and passing through Birdville struck the railroad leading from Millen to Augusta, five miles from Millen, and encamped on the 5th, near Hunter's Mills. From Jacksonborough the Fourteenth Corps moved toward Savannah on the Augusta and Savannah road, the Twentieth Corps taking the road through Springfield. On the 10th of December my command reached the main line of the enemy's works in front of Savannah and took position, the Twentieth Corps on the left, with its left resting on the Savannah River, the Fourteenth on the right and connecting with the Seventeenth Corps beyond the canal near Lawson's plantation. Our line was established as close as possible to that of the enemy, and the time spent in preparation for an assault upon his works. Batteries were established by the river in such positions as prevented any boats from passing. The steamer Ida, while attempting to pass up from Savannah, on the 10th of December, was captured and burned. On the 12th two gun-boats and the steamer Resolute attempted to pass our batteries from above, but both gun-boats were driven back by Winegar's battery, and the steamer was so disabled that she fell into our hands. She was soon repaired, and has since been transferred to the quartermaster's department. On the 18th a brigade of the First Division, Twentieth Corps, was thrown across the river, and established near Izard's plantation, on the South Carolina shore in a position which threatened the only line of communication still held by the enemy. A bridge in the meantime had been constructed by the enemy from the city to the South Carolina shore, and on the evening of December 20 he commenced the evacuation of the city. The movement was discovered at 3 A. M. on the 21st, and my command was at once moved forward and occupied the city.

For a more detailed account of each day's operations, I respectfully refer you to the reports of Maj. Gen. J. C. Davis, commanding Fourteenth Corps, and Brig. Gen. A. S. Williams, commanding Twentieth Corps, together with the reports of the subordinate commanders, all of which are

herewith inclosed. So far as active opposition on the part of the enemy was concerned, there was hardly an event worthy of mention in a report of this nature. The only real annoyance we experienced was from the destruction of bridges, and the obstruction of roads by fallen timber, and these obstacles were very readily overcome.

The conduct of the officers and men on the march is worthy of the highest praise. They endured the fatigues of the march with cheerfulness, and were ever ready, even at the close of a long day's march to use the ax and spade in removing obstructions and repairing roads and bridges.

The result of the campaign proves conclusively the practicability of subsisting large bodies of troops upon the enemy's country. After leaving the section of country near Atlanta, which had already been foraged upon by both armies, we experienced no difficulty in obtaining supplies for both men and animals. Even the most unproductive sections along our line of march yielded enough for our support so long as the march could be continued from day to day. It was thirty-four days from the date my command left Atlanta to the day supplies were received from the fleet. The total number of rations required during this period was 1,360,000. Of this amount there was issued by the subsistence department 440,900 rations of bread, 142,473 rations of meat, 876,800 of coffee and tea, 778,466 of sugar, 213,500 of soap, and 1,123,000 of salt.

As the troops were well supplied at all times, if we deduct the above issues from the amount actually due the soldiers, we have the approximate quantities taken from the country, viz.: rations of bread, 919,000; meat, 1,217,527; coffee, 483,000; sugar, 581,534; soap, 146,500; salt, 137,000. The above is the actual saving to the Government in issue of rations during the campaign and it is probable that even more than the equivalent of the above supplies was obtained by the soldiers from the country.

Four thousand and ninety valuable horses and mules were captured during the march and turned over to the quartermaster's department. Our transportation was in far better condition on our arrival at Savannah than it was at the commencement of the campaign. The average number of horses and mules with my command, including those of the pontoon train and a part of the Michigan Engineers, was 14,500. We started from Atlanta with four days' grain in wagons. Estimating the amount fed the animals at the regulation allowance, and deducting the amount on hand on leaving Atlanta, I estimate the amount of grain taken from the country at 5,000,000 pounds; fodder, 6,000,000 pounds; besides the forage consumed by the immense herds of cattle that were driven with the different columns.

It is very difficult to estimate the amount of damage done the enemy by the operations of the troops under my command during the campaign; 119 miles of railroad were thoroughly and effectually destroyed, scarcely a tie or rail, a bridge or culvert, on the entire line being left in con-

dition to be of use again. At Rutledge, Madison, Eatonton, Milledgeville, Tennille, and Davisborough, machine shops, turn-tables, depots, water-tanks, and much other valuable property were destroyed. The quantity of cotton destroyed is estimated by my subordinate commanders at 17,000 bales. A very large number of cotton gins and presses were also destroyed. Negro men, women, and children joined the column at every mile of our march; many of them bringing horses and mules, which they cheerfully turned over to the officers of the quartermaster's department. I think at least 14,000 of these people joined the two columns at different points on the march, but many of them were too old and infirm, and others too young, to endure the fatigues of the march, and were therefore left in the rear. More than one-half of the above number, however, reached the coast with us. Many of the able-bodied men were transferred to the officers of the quartermaster and subsistence departments and others were employed in the two corps as teamsters, cooks, and servants.

Twenty-three hundred stand of small arms, and a large quantity of powder, were captured atMilledgeville. Fifty-one pieces of artillery were abandoned by the enemy, on his evacuation of Savannah, on the line in front of my command. Thirty-eight pieces in addition to the above were also found in works first entered by the Twentieth Corps. A very large amount of ordnance stores was also found in and about the city.

Bvt. Maj. Gen. J. E. Davis, commanding Fourteenth Corps, and Brig. Gen. A. S. Williams, commanding Twentieth Corps, were during the entire campaign constantly with their troops, and were energetic and zealous in discharge of every duty.

The Fifty-eighth Indiana Volunteers, under command of Col. George P. Buell, organized as pontoniers, and a portion of the First Michigan Engineers, under Maj. J. B. Yates, accompanied my command, and were at all times most efficient in the discharge of the arduous duties imposed upon them.

I append herewith a statement of casualties, and also a statement of prisoners captured.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,

Major-General, Commanding Left Wing, Army of Georgia.

Capt. L. M. DAYTON, Aide-de-Camp.

The casualties on this campaign were: in XIVth Corps, killed, one officer and 12 men; wounded, one officer and 29 men; missing, 94 men. In XXth Corps, killed, one officer and 11 men; wounded, 5 officers and 83 men; missing 1 officer and 164 men. Total losses 402.

Prisoners captured by XVIth Corps 115 men; by XXth Corps, 30 officers and 294 men; total 439. The enemy's killed and wounded were probably relatively greater than his loss in prisoners.

General Sherman gave his losses in both armies in killed and

wounded as 1,338, and that those of the enemy could not be ascertained. The Union gains were, the great military vantage; 65,000 men fed and 32,000 horses and mules foraged for forty days.

The United States Congress 'expressed thanks to Sherman and his army for their triumphant march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and through Georgia to Savannah.'

CHAPTER XLII

Beginning of the Campaign of the Carolinas

The question of the marching of Sherman's armies through the Carolinas; or of their being transported by ocean and rivers more directly to the aid of the Army of the Potomac, was discussed at the War Department and between Generals Grant and Sherman; and the decision was in favor of the former course.

At the beginning of the Campaign of the Carolinas, the IIIrd Division of Slocum's XXth Corps under General Ward broke camp at Savannah January 1st, and crossing the Savannah River it moved northward along the Union Causeway, the avenue of escape of the Confederate army under General Hardee. A detachment of the enemy's cavalry was driven before the division, and Ward's command went into camp in advance of Cheve's plantation near Hardeeville, South Carolina. January 17th the 1st Division of the XXth Corps followed the IIIrd and encamped near Purysburg, and the IIIrd Division then occupied Hardeeville. The IInd Division remained in charge of Savannah.

About the middle of January, most of Howard's Right Wing was sent by ships from near Savannah to Beaufort, South Carolina, then in possession of United States troops. This Wing was thus placed beyond much mud and water, thus having the advantage of Slocum's Left Wing without effort to them.

Rains continued to fall so copiously that a great flood resulted, submerging all the rice plantations and the other low country, also many of the dikes upon which the corduroy roads were made. Slocum's two divisions were thus isolated widely from their comrades and source of supplies, and even a part of the 1st Division's wagon train was separated from its part of the division by water.

General Geary, with his IInd Division of the XXth Corps was relieved of the command of Savannah January 19th by Major-General John G. Foster, and the 27th, after the rains had somewhat subsided, he followed General Slocum's XIVth Corps up the Augusta Turnpike on the southwest side of the Savannah River. This course led the enemy to again think that Augusta was their objective point, and they made preparations to leave the city after making some preparations for its defense. The weather became clear, and so cold that the troops suffered. Before leaving Savannah there had been a general 'weeding out' of inefficient men and surplus baggage, including large tents, blankets, chairs, camp-cots, and all other unnecessary baggage. Officers as well as the enlisted men now occupied the small fly-tent, and used boughs of trees as additional protection, to his single blanket and small tent, from the biting wind at night as well as to help shed some of the rain. Many days of this wet, muddy march they saw reason for thankfulness that they had so little unnecessary baggage. The effective strength of General Geary's IInd Division of Slocum's XXth Corps at this time was: 1st Brigade, 68 officers and 1,777 enlisted men; 2nd Brigade, 72 officers, 1,145 men; and the 3rd Brigade, 92 officers and 1,654 men. Total, 261 officers, and 5,061 enlisted men. The mule train for this division was composed of 159 army wagons and 33 ambulances. There were, also, 13 pack mules for each regiment, and 13 at Geary's headquarters, making a total of 234 pack mules. This wagon train carried two weeks' rations for the men including what each soldier carried in his haversack, and one week's forage for the horses and mules. The ammunition part of the train carried 504,000 rounds of infantry ammunition, it being an allowance of 100 rounds per man. In addition to this each man carried 40 rounds in his cartridge box. Each brigade had its pioneer company of about 30 men to lead the advance when there was no enemy near. This pioneer company kept within ready access a tool wagon well loaded with axes, spades, picks, and bars. General Geary's quartermaster also had with his trains a pioneer company of 75 negroes.

As large as General Geary's division, as above mentioned, may appear to the general reader, it was less than one-sixth part of General Slocum's command of infantry, and the pontoniers,

engineers, and artillery were additional. The Right Wing of Sherman's armies under General O. O. Howard ranked about the same as Slocum's Left Wing. Frequently it became desirable, if not necessary, for one division, or brigade, to take charge of much of the equipment of other brigade, division, or corps. At the time that General Geary left Savannah, he had in charge, in addition to his own equipment as before mentioned, the headquarters and corps trains of General Slocum's command, including the corps supply, and the artillery ammunition trains, making in all 300 vehicles. Sloan's battery, and two regiments of the 1st Division of the XXth Corps, the 13th New Jersey and the 61st Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which had been left at Savannah, also reported according to orders to General Geary, and followed his division.

The ground was frozen hard at the start but, as the day advanced, the heavy wagons broke up the surface more and more thus making the way more rough and the progress more difficult and slow. The advance line prepared for encamping about 3 o'clock P. M. at a distance of 12 miles from Savannah; and the trains arrived at this point about dark. The march was taken up next morning at six o'clock. After advancing about four miles a turn was made to the left, and about two P. M. a halt was called for encampment and 3 1-2 miles short of Springfield. Notwithstanding the bad condition of the road, and the frequent necessity for corduroying, 14 miles were traveled this day. January 29th the march was resumed at 6.30 A. M. The line this day led through Springfield, across the ford of Jack's Creek, then turned to the right on the Sister's Ferry road, across a bad swamp at Ebenezer Creek where the road required much corduroying, and encampment was made at two P. M. on the plantation of Judge Mallette three miles from Sister's Ferry, the distance traveled this day being 12 miles. A pontoon bridge was laid the 30th across the Savannah River at Sister's Ferry. The Carolina side was yet under water which was, however, rapidly subsiding. All of the pioneers, and those who could well handle an axe, were detailed to corduroy the road through the swampy part. The 1st day of February a number of torpedoes, planted by the enemy in the road, were found and most of them were removed with safety. A few under water and drift debris were

exploded with some damage in addition to several deaths notwithstanding the care exercised for their removal. The weather became warm. As the road work progressed, the depth of the water that had been declining, again increased. There was more rain, but Kilpatrick's cavalry crossed the bridge the evening of February 3rd, and the next day Slocum's men began to cross. Boats arrived here from Savannah and formed a depot of supplies, from which the soldiers filled their haversacks, and the supply train wagons were replenished. Three brigades of Geary's division moved forward to Robertsville through roads nearly impassable by soldiers, and wholly so by wagons. One brigade was left to guard the trains, which yet included the wagons of Kilpatrick's cavalry. February 5th, 1,500 men were employed in putting the road in condition through this Black Swamp for the wagon train to pass. The latter part of the day was occupied in advancing the trains to the night encampment at a cross road eight miles from Robertsville. Near a Mr. Trowell's house in this neighborhood the bodies of three Union soldiers were found and buried. They had been shot in 'cold blood' by Wheeler's Confederate cavalrymen. After getting across the Black Swamp, the roads were such that only nine miles could be traveled the next day, the weather being clear and warm. The march was taken up at six o'clock the next morning along the road to Lawtonville, beyond which town another road, to Beech Branch, was followed and encampment was made for the night near Mear's store. The country here about was fertile, but it was now deserted by the farmers and what little of food supplies they had left, if any, had been taken by Confederate soldiers and the part of Slocum's men who had preceded those of Geary's division. Rain again fell in great quantity, but at 8 A. M. the march continued, though slowly on account of much necessary corduroying. At noon the head column arrived at Coosawatchie Swamp through which the road was covered by 3 1-2 feet depth of water for a distance of 300 yards, and the surface of the road was uncertain. There were marshalled 600 axmen and pioneers who bravely began the work of building a foot bridge, and corduroying the wagon road surface. At 4 P. M. Geary's division began to cross. Three brigades, the artillery, and a good part of the trains crossed during the night. The bottom of the stream was

Major-General Slocum and his Army of Georgia in the Flood and Mud of South Carolina. They often Worked Day and Night. Nothing Could Long Stop their Progress

often worked into holes of a quicksand nature, and it was frequently necessary to halt the wagons and send the pioneers with corduroying material into the waist-deep water to place the timbers at the bottom and pin them down that the wagons could be taken over them. Selfridge's brigade encamped on the south side to guard the trains that could not get across until morning.

General Slocum was now with this part of his army, and he constantly inspired his men by his presence and his words of cheer. No complaints were heard from these veteran volunteer soldiers who had marched 6 and 1-2 miles in the sultry day through deep mud and rain, and worked hard all the night in the water and mud. General Slocum's cheering words as he passed back and forth along the workmen, were here as well as ever before fully accorded with; and their efforts succeeded better than their own and their subordinate officers' expectations. The weather again cleared and the temperature became chilly accordingly. The roads now showed improvements made by Slocum's preceding columns, yet the constant pounding on the corduroy timbers by the long train of heavy wagons necessitated constant attention and repair of the water-soaked earth beneath the timbers. The trains moved 6 and 1-2 miles after crossing the stream and swamp and February 8th the head columns marched 14 miles, across Jackson's Branch to and across the Big Salkehatchie at Buford's Bridge. This last crossing included a succession of twenty-three bridges with intervening raised roadways, all within a comparatively short distance. The river was wide, deep and miry. On the distal (northern) side of it was a strong line of Confederate military defenses, with four embrasures which commanded the bridges and causeways so fully that a good garrison would make any approach impossible for a contending force. These defensive works were now, fortunately, without garrison of the enemy, and three brigades and most of the trains were crossed and encamped on that side of the river. Before all the teams could cross the roadway became so deeply cut, and dangerous, that Selfridge's brigade remained for the night on the south side with about fifty of the wagons. Fourteen miles were averaged this day. At early daylight of February 9th Geary's division was reunited on the north side of the river, the road having been repaired and, at six o'clock

A. M., all marched forward along the road to the left leading toward Blackville. The road was now comparatively good, the country not so level, and well cultivated. Here for the first time on the Campaign of the Carolinas, the foragers found enough of products to compensate for their efforts in the search. Some extended their search as far as Barnwell and returned well laden. At 3 o'clock P. M. encampment was made within one mile of Blackville, near the other divisions of the XXth Corps which they had not seen since the latter crossed the river at Savannah to begin this campaign January 1st. These divisions, the Ist and IIIrd, of this corps had remained to the northeast of the Savannah River surrounded by the flood until January 26th when they started northward, and arrived at Robertsville the 29th, where they were obliged to remain until February 2nd when they marched to Lawtonville, skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry by the way. The next day they advanced to Duck Branch Postoffice, and the next to Allendale Postoffice. The 5th they moved to Buford's Bridge, and the 6th they crossed the Salkehatchie River and passed to the Little Salkehatchie. This stream was crossed the next day and the march was extended to near Graham's Station on the South Carolina Railway. The 8th they destroyed this road west from this Station and returned to the encampment for the night. The 9th of February they marched to Blackville, destroying the railroad by the way; and there they joined Geary's IInd Division from which they had been separated as before described.

The reader may have noticed that part of Slocum's men marched from Savannah practically toward Augusta, Georgia, which caused much uneasiness in that important city, and not a little preparation again among the inhabitants to escape with their valuables. After Slocum turned to the right and crossed the Savannah River the citizens of Charleston were the ones to become anxious, and their anxiety did not wane until it became evident that Columbia was to be the next important objective place. The Georgia protectors, Generals Wheeler, Hardee, Hood, Beauregard, Hampton, and others flurried around but did not get seriously in Slocum's way until his arrival at Fayetteville, Averysborough, and at Bentonville where they saw their finish.

CHAPTER XLIII

South Carolina. Captures Fayetteville

That part of General Howard's Right Wing that went by sea to Beaufort, used boats up the river as far as practicable, then followed a prescribed course to the right of that planned for General Slocum's army. The part of Howard's XVth Corps that could not be embarked for Beaufort, followed General Slocum's last contingent up the southwest side of the Savannah River, crossed after them at Sister's Ferry, and rejoined their XVth Corps near Blackville February 9th or 10th.

The Ist Division of Slocum's XXth Corps marched February 11th to Duncan's Bridge, joining the IInd Division on the north side of the river. The IIIrd Division moved to Williston Station, destroying the railroad along the way. It encamped for the night across the south tributary of the Edisto River. The 12th the Ist and IInd Divisions moved to Jeffcoat's Bridge, where the IIIrd Division met them. The 13th this XXth Corps marched to Jones' Cross Roads; the 14th to Columbia Cross Roads, and the 15th to near Lexington. There was skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry each day; the enemy now thinking that Charleston was the objective point of the Unionists.

The Ist and IIIrd Divisions of General Slocum's XIVth Corps destroyed twelve miles of the Augusta and Charleston Railroad above Barnwell February 12th. The 14th they moved across the south and north tributaries of the Edisto River; the 15th they pressed forward to near the Congaree, and to the Beaver Dam Creek, the advance columns entering Lexington. The entire XIVth Corps was here reunited. The 16th of February it crossed the Congaree, marched to within sight of Columbia, the capitol of South Carolina and, on the opposite side of the river, it prepared for battle. Considerable skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry occurred during the day. The 17th the XIVth Corps crossed the Saluda River by pontoon bridge near Mount Zion Church, and passed on to Freshly's Mills by the Broad River. This river was crossed two miles above Columbia the 19th, and a long stretch of the Greenville and Columbia Railroad was destroyed along the river bank to Larkin's Station.

Here Slocum's officers of the XIVth Corps learned of the capture of Columbia by General Howard's Right Wing, also of the retreat of the enemy in the direction of Cheraw, and that the Confederate General Cheatham's command was near the XIVth Corps on its left. This corps then marched forward through Winnsborough, and it went into camp for the night near White Oak. General Slocum's headquarters were at Winnsborough at this time, and detachments of his different commands had completed the destruction of railroads in different directions.

Inasmuch as General Slocum was the first to enter and occupy Atlanta the stronghold, Milledgeville the capitol, and Savannah the metropolis of Georgia, General Sherman managed to have Howard, commander of his Right Wing, the first to enter and occupy Columbia the capitol of South Carolina with himself for a day or two. Slocum and his Army of Georgia did not enter the city, but passed it on the west. The disastrous fire this city suffered at this time is attributed to the firing of the cotton by the Confederates at the time of their retreat to keep it from being confiscated by the Unionists; and the high winds scattered the ignited cotton to the inflammable residences. It is doubtless true, however, that the Right Wing of Sherman's Army left more of a trail of ashes through South Carolina generally than did Slocum's Left Wing. To help the distressed citizens of Columbia Sherman gave the mayor 500 of his beef cattle; also 100 muskets with ammunition to guard them.[116]

The XXth Corps marched well toward Columbia February 16th when, hearing heavy guns there, two divisions were sent yet nearer where they were informed that the city was well under control by Howard's forces, and that Slocum's XIVth Corps was opposite Columbia. The XXth then encamped for the night, and the next morning it moved to the Saluda River. Crossing this river the 18th it marched to Oakville Postoffice. The 19th it arrived near the Broad River and encamped on Freshly's farm near his Mills. The march was extended the 20th to, and across, the Broad and Little Rivers and to encampment on Owen's farm. The march was resumed the 21st and it continued to Winnsborough. Here some citizens had set fire to some buildings, and the soldiers joined other citizens in preventing the fire from spreading. Here, as elsewhere when practicable, the citi-

zens were treated with excellent renditions of patriotic music by the well-trained bands. The track of the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad was here destroyed toward White Oak. Rabbits abounded hereabouts and some were caught alive for pets. The Ist and IIIrd Divisions moved forward and encamped by Beaver Dam Creek.

Several Union foragers were found hanging and dead by the roadside with papers attached to their clothing on which was written 'Death to all foragers.' Toward Chesterfield twenty-one infantry soldiers were found dead in a ravine with their throats cut. Possibly these soldiers were stragglers from foraging parties who had been some days away from their company 'taking it easy and having a good time on their own responsibility.'

It being reported that a strong column of Confederate cavalry was on their front, the IIIrd Division was sent rapidly forward to intercept it. No part of the enemy could be found, however, although a sharp hunt was made through the country to and across the Catawba or Wateree River at Rocky Mount Ferry February 22nd. The enemy, led by Beauregard, had gone toward Charlotte to protect this town from the Unionists, who now turned to the eastward as they had planned to do. The trains of the XXth Corps, with 250 wagons of Kilpatrick's cavalry which had been part of Slocum's charge constantly since the start upon the Carolinas' Campaign, were much delayed by steep ascents and bad roads. Even the pontoon wagons could not be brought along until late the 23rd, when the bridge was laid across the Catawba River and the rough, rocky, and steep approaches were smoothed; but the rain, slipperyness, and dense darkness made the crossing at night impracticable.

A rumor this day went around the commands that the enemy had evacuated Charleston; and this rumor was fully confirmed the next day or two. The different generals could well explain the cause of this retreat of the Confederates, as they had destroyed two of the principal railroads which had been supplying that city and were about to destroy another. The city was soon supplied with food carried thither by United States ships.

The forward movement began early February 23rd in the severe rain, and only five miles could be traveled that day over

the steep and muddy hillsides. The 24th of February only three miles could be traveled, and it became necessary to make encampment for the night near the XVIIth Corps of the Right Wing. Early the next morning detachments were sent to repair and corduroy the roads ahead; and February 26th the XXth Corps and its numerous wagon trains were moved through the mud to Hanging Rock Postoffice where all were employed the 27th in crossing Hanging Rock Creek. During the next day the road was termed 'very heavy and spongy making a corduroy necessary for every rod.' A very rare thing, a whole bridge, was found over Little Lynch Creek, and here General Ward's IIIrd Division of the XXth Corps was stopped for the night for its protection, while Jackson's Ist and Geary's IInd Divisions moved across and forward two and a half miles; and the 82nd Illinois Volunteers was sent onward to the Big Lynch Creek and, fortunately, this regiment found and secured the bridge at this crossing.

In the meanwhile General Slocum's XIVth Corps destroyed the Columbia and Charlotte Railroad between White Oak and Cornwall the morning of February 22nd, and the next day it was massed at Rocky Mount Postoffice by the Catawba River, Baird and Carlin's divisions having destroyed twelve miles of railroad and marched thirty-eight miles within as many hours. Morgan's division, meanwhile, marched direct with the wagon trains by way of Gladden's Grove. February 24th this division began to move the wagons across the Catawba River on their pontoon bridge, the river rising rapidly from continued rains. The night of the 25th the anchors and ropes which had held the pontoons in place, gave way and they were mostly lost in the surging flood. Only two wagons were on the bridge at the time of its breaking loose, and again fortunately they were near the distal shore to which the teams escaped. The continued rise of the river, and the want of material, prevented the completion of a new bridge until about midnight of the 27th when Baird's division began to cross. At the close of the next day the last column crossed, and the bridge was taken up during the night for future use. The difficulties here encountered were the most exciting and troublesome of all the very many bad conditions that had been encountered, on account of the rapidity of the great flood due

to the hilly country. The XIVth Corps was now far behind the other parts of General Slocum's Army of Georgia, and a longer route more northward had been assigned to it. Forced marches and long hours were undertaken in good cheer that the continued downpour of rain could not suppress. The Confederate General Johnston was at Charlotte to welcome this corps if it visited that city, toward which some citizens thought it was marching. The course was now, however, more to the eastward, by way of Hanging Rock, Horton's Tavern, Taxihaw, McManus's Bridge over Big Lynch River, Blakeny's Cross Roads, and Mount Croghan. At daylight of March 1st, the XIVth Corps continued its march, Morgan's division leading, Baird's division closely following, and Carlin's division with the pontoon train in the rear, each division now being in charge of its own supply trains. This order of march continued for several days. The roads continued so miry that a large part of the command was required to work constantly on them, using timbers and corduroy material to help the teams that the wagons should not remain fast in the mud. The handiness, patience, and endurance of the soldiers during these most trying days, won the admiration and high esteem of the officers. The Pedee River was crossed at Pegue's Ferry ten miles above Cheraw and three miles below Sneedsborough, near the southern line of the State of North Carolina. A 920 feet bridge was here required. Considerable of the necessary lumber for it had to be found, and it was late in the evening of March 6th before the bridge could be completed. It was occupied most of the night by the crossing of Kilpatrick's cavalry. Early the next morning the infantry began to cross, and the bridge soon became so much broken that several hours were required for its repair. From here the course of the XIVth Corps led by the way of Rockingham, Blue's or Love's Bridge over the Lumber River, and thence along the plank road toward Fayetteville. The divisions separated, Morgan's marching nearly thirty miles one day. The bridge across Lumber River was saved from being burned by its Confederate guard by a brave dash of Lieutenant Dewey's foraging party of the 38th Indiana Infantry. The evening of March 9th the entire XIVth Corps went into camp between the 15th and 20th Mile Posts from Fayetteville by the plank road. Heavy rains con-

tinued to fall and the road was soft and much cut from the plank being worn through and displaced which greatly delayed progress. Several Confederate soldiers from Hardee's army were taken prisoners during the day, and they told of the efforts being made for a stand at Fayetteville against the advancement of the Unionists. March 10th the corps moved forward and massed at the 9th Mile Post. A brigade of General Baird's IIIrd Division was sent forward and, at the 6th Mile Post a strong force of Hardee's infantry was discovered. Early the next morning the corps resumed its march and, after some skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry, Baird's division entered Fayetteville about 10.30 A. M. close upon the heels of the rear guard of the enemy. General Baird was directed by General Slocum to assume the duties of commander of the city, and the other divisions encamped on the plank road two miles west of the city. The arsenal buildings, machine shops, and foundries at Fayetteville, United States property, were destroyed, and a large quantity of supplies found there were appropriated by the Union troops.

The XXth Corps crossed Lynch River at Miller's Ferry March 1st. Generals Geary and Ward's divisions advanced and encamped early in the afternoon at Brewer's Cross Roads, and Jackson's division marched three miles further and went into camp at Johnson's place on the Chesterfield road. This division moved forward at 6 A. M. without wagons that it might save the two bridges over Thompson's Creek near Chesterfield. After crossing Big Black, Little Black, and Smith's Mill Creek and when within two miles of Chesterfield the advance guard was fired upon by a strong line of Confederate skirmishers. Two regiments of Selfridge's brigade were promptly deployed, and they, with two other regiments as support, chased the enemy double-quick to and through the town. General Hawley of the second brigade was sent to the left and he secured the upper bridge but little damaged. Selfridge turned to the right, and at the lower bridge he was confronted by the enemy's sharpshooters and artillery on the north bank. Major Reynolds, chief of the Union artillery, soon had two sections of battery in position, and they soon silenced and routed the enemy. The Union sharpshooters had, meanwhile, protected the bridge from being set on fire. Prisoners here captured reported that the enemy

there engaged was composed of one brigade of infantry and several regiments of cavalry in addition to his artillery. March 3rd Robinson's brigade was sent across the upper bridge to get in the rear of the enemy who might oppose the crossing of the lower bridge; but all of the enemy had escaped. Jackson's division advanced toward Sneedsborough, and he was followed by the XXth Corps over very bad roads so saturated with water that the wagons were constantly cutting through the thin surface into the deep quicksand below. Little and Big Westfield Creeks, and others nearly as bad, were crossed with great difficulty.

Bridging Over Swollen Stream and Corduroying Under Overflowing Swamp, in North Carolina

Slocum's XIVth Corps was now on the roads to the right, and it was about to build a bridge across the Great Pedee River near the North Carolina State line. March 6th permission was obtained for the XXth Corps to cross this bridge and, following the XVth Corps of Howard's Right Wing, the XXth Corps here crossed during the night, and it encamped four miles northward. This corps marched fifteen miles on the 7th, crossing Mark's Creek, and it encamped at Mark's Station on the Wilmington, Charleston, and Rutherford Railroad, one of Geary's brigades destroying about two miles of the track of this road. On the 8th of March, after moving five miles the XXth Corps came to the

road occupied by its comrades of Slocum's XIVth Corps. The policy and orders of the march was to spread into and to move along as many roads as practicable for the purpose of making greater impression on the residents of the enemy's country as far as possible, also on account of forage, better sanitation, and the better condition of the roads generally. The XXth Corps, therefore, made a new road two miles, bridging and corduroying Gum Creek and its contiguous swamp. The heavy rains continued. Reconnoitering parties reported, and Jackson's entire division was brought forward to make and repair roads. All of the smaller creeks were smollen into large streams, and Lumber Creek with its overflow was a formidable river requiring a substantial bridge 150 feet long. By 3 P. M. the bridges and long stretches of corduroy were completed, and Jackson's division with its trains crossed. At 5 P. M. the rain again poured in torrents and soon the road was submerged, the corduroy timbers were floated away by the current, also much of the earth below them. The fields were so covered and saturated with water that the wagon trains could not be parked. With great effort the corps moved forward early on March 10. It was detained several hours in building a crossing of Buffalo Creek which was ordinarily a mere rivulet but was now a torrent that exacted great attention. The entire corps engaged in corduroying the road forward to Rockfish Creek ten miles distant, where the head column arrived at 3.30 P. M. to find the stream overflowing its banks and requiring a bridge 330 feet long. The pontoon train was brought forward and by adding to the material it contained the lumber in the walls and floor of an unoccupied building within view, the bridge was completed in the night. On March 11th, Ward's third division was started at early daylight to corduroy the road. At 10 A. M. General A. S. Williams commanding the XXth Corps, received orders from General Slocum to bring forward two divisions and a pontoon train. He started at once with Jackson's and Ward's divisions, leaving the other trains with General Geary. They crossed Nicholson and Puppy Creeks, then moved across to the Albemarle plank road, a mile or more west of Little Rockfish Creek and encamped the two divisions within two miles of Fayetteville, North Carolina, about 6 P. M., General Slocum's XIVth Corps having already occupied the city without serious

opposition. Geary arrived at the encampment of his companion divisions, with the trains, a little before midnight. On March 13th the entire XXth Corps was marched through Fayetteville in review order before General Slocum and his staff officers and, then crossing the Cape Fear River over the pontoon bridge, it passed four miles along the Kyle's Landing Road where it remained during the 14th.

CHAPTER XLIV

Again the Sea. Captures Averysborough

Late in the afternoon of March 12th, General Morgan's division (the second) of the XIVth Corps moved across the Cape Fear River near Fayetteville, and encamped. It was followed the next morning by the 1st Division under General Carlin with the wagon trains. Union forces had captured Wilmington, and had been informed by two couriers with dispatches in cipher to expect their comrades of the Campaign of the Carolinas at Fayetteville and were requested to meet them there with supplies. Consequently smaller steamboats were loaded with supplies from the Atlantic fleet, and they steamed up the Cape Fear River into Fayetteville in good time. From these boats Slocum's wagon trains were replenished, the foraging having been inadequate and the rations short on account of the bad condition of the roads, and the generally stripped condition of the country. Here, also, it was more desirable to rid the army of the refugees both white and black who had persistently flocked around and followed the army to the number of 20,000 or more. All wagons heretofore hauled for their feeding, were now placed on the boats for Wilmington, with the teams and accouterments.

The IIIrd Brigade of General Ward's IIIrd Division of General Slocum's XXth Corps, was sent March 15th under command of Bvt. Brig. Gen. William Cogswell to reconnoiter toward Averysborough and Black Creek in the direction of Raleigh. This brigade met the enemy's cavalry on both roads, and short skirmishes resulted in which the Union loss was one killed and two wounded. The same day General Williams marched toward Averysborough with Ward's and Jackson's divisions having, from General Slocum's orders, sent all his trains, excepting part

of the ordnance wagons, with his IInd Division under Geary along another road toward Cox's Bridge over the Neuse River. Williams made encampment for the night between Silver Run and Taylor's Hole Creek in a pouring rain, and Kilpatrick's cavalry passed further on. Report was soon returned from the cavalry that a strong infantry line of the enemy confronted the cavalry's advance. Williams at once sent forward Hawley's brigade of Jackson's Ist Division, though it was now dark, to support the cavalry. The next morning (the 16th) General Ward with his IIIrd Division was sent out at 6 o'clock to corduroy the road which was otherwise impassable for the wagons. Message came from Kilpatrick at 7.30 A. M. that the enemy was intrenched at his front whereupon Williams ordered Ward's division forward, and he also ordered Jackson to send another brigade, thus leaving the trains with his only remaining brigade. The head of Ward's division arrived at 9.30 A. M. at the rear of Hawley's position after a march of five miles. Hawley's brigade, which had been on duty all the night with frequent skirmishing, was now relieved and Ward's division was formed in line of battle across and to the left of the main road. Jackson's two brigades prolonged the Union line to the right, relieving the cavalry which was then massed at the extreme right. Selfridge's first brigade of Jackson's division was severely attacked by a large force of the enemy while the brigade was moving into the designated position, the enemy's desire being to defeat and turn the Union right. Selfridge met the attack thoughtfully and vigorously, and the enemy was repulsed. The cavalry also made a charge on the enemy but the swampy ground was not favorable for its full success. Ward advanced a detachment on the enemy's right meanwhile, and Major Reynolds had placed three batteries of artillery in good position on a slight eminence within 500 yards of the enemy's intrenchments. The work of these cannon was fully up to their good standard, the enemy's embankments were pierced and much havoc there resulted. At the same time Colonel Case of Ward's advancing brigade, charged the enemy's right on double-quick pace routing and following the retreating foe who did not stop to be captured in entirety. The Union lines at once advanced rapidly, capturing one 12-pounder cannon and one 12-pounder howitzer with their ammunition, horses,

and many of their men. One of these large guns was turned upon the retreating foe to prevent his stopping and to quicken his pace. His attempt to halt at his second line of defense was frustrated; but he was found more strongly intrenched behind swampy and overflowed land about a mile distant with flanks by swamps, of Black River, and a marshy creek tributary to Cape Fear River, his main position covering the Bentonville Road. This part of the XXth Corps of Slocum's Army of Georgia advanced boldly, however, rapidly drove in the enemy's skirmishers, and pushed up to within a few hundred yards of the strong force of the strongly intrenched enemy. Upon reconnoitering the situation, General Slocum ordered a rest for the already fatigued men, while awaiting the arrival of his XIVth Corps. Owing to the very bad condition of the road, this corps did not arrive and get into position on the left of the XXth Corps until late in the afternoon and in a heavy rainfall; and the desired attack on the enemy's defenses was deferred for the night now closing in upon them. But the large force of the alert enemy, equal to if not outnumbering the Union force, chose not to await the morning. They fled during the pitch darkness that early enveloped the swamp, its water, and its muddy depths. Ward's division was sent in pursuit early in the morning, with orders to halt at Averysborough. It was soon discovered that the enemy had destroyed several of his wagons, and left one caisson, and several ambulances with wounded men. General Ward found 30 other wounded enemy at Averysborough. In this engagement, a battle in fact of over one full day's duration, the XXth Corps took 175 prisoners, including 60 wounded, all of whom were paroled and liberated, the wounded in hospital. The provost-marshals of the corps buried 128 of the Confederate dead, including 7 officers, making his loss in the hands of the victors 303. All of those more lightly wounded escaped with their comrades. At such engagements, in the enemy's country particularly, there were, also, numbers 'missing' from the enemy's ranks who took the opportunity to escape and be 'lost' among their distant friends or elsewhere. The foregoing list of killed does not include those of the charge of General Selfridge's brigade. Many were left there, and it was observed that many were buried by their friends in the intrenchments of their last

stand. General Williams estimated the enemy's loss in the engagement of Averysborough at 800 men at least.[99] The losses sustained by Slocum's army were: killed 10 officers and 66 enlisted men; wounded 33 officers and 441 men. One officer and 50 men were missing from the XXth Corps. The loss in Kilpatrick's cavalry was: killed two officers and 17 men; wounded one officers and 58 men; missing three men.

It was the general policy in the Atlanta-Savannah and the Carolinas' Campaigns, to keep as free from general engagements with the enemy as practicable, and thus avoid being delayed on the march by wounded men so far in the enemy's country without a constant base of supplies.

Morgan and Carlin's divisions were directed to make ready for advancing from Fayetteville toward Averysborough, the trains to follow with Baird's division which was about to turn over the government of the city to the citizens. The advance division started in the early morning of March 15th, following the XXth Corps, and encampment for the night was made at Taylor's Hole Creek. It is impossible for the reader without experience with the worst of thoroughly wet and stirred mud roads to fully comprehend the difficulties which embarrassed and delayed the progress of the armies through the Carolinas during this particularly wet season. It was late in the morning of March 16th before the XIV Corps, General J. C. Davis commanding, could get started behind the XXth Corps. They had not advanced far before the guns were heard in the first engagement at Averysborough. At 10 A. M. General Slocum ordered Davis to send forward a brigade. It was at once started, but the road was so fully blocked with wagons, pack mules, and other parts of the great trains, that the soldiers were obliged to march irregularly around trees, bushes, mudholes, and other obstructions of the woods which were thickly set with trees, some fallen, and all surrounded with water. General Mitchell's brigade of Morgan's division was cheerily led forward, however, and it arrived in time to do good service as noted in the foregoing account of the engagement. The other two brigades of Morgan's division were ordered forward. The IIIrd Brigade, Fearing's, was at once deployed and it promptly drove the enemy's skirmishers and then formed on the left of Mitchell's brigade within

musket range of the enemy's intrenchments. From further orders, Morgan placed his Ist Brigade under General Vandevere between Fearing's left and the river and, after much skirmishing, they drove the outpost guards into their main intrenchments which were now found to extend to the river bank. Skirmishing continued until nightfall which was near, the Unionists, meanwhile, having much of their force employed in preparing breastworks; and the entire line bivouacked in line of battle therein during the night. The 1st Division of the XIVth Corps under General Carlin was held in reserve and took no active part in the engagements. The IIIrd Division under General Baird marched from Fayetteville as guard of the supply train by way of Troublefield's Store with Cox's Bridge as the objective point.

It was discovered early in the morning of March 17th that the enemy had retreated on the Raleigh Road. The casualties of the XIV Corps at Averysborough were: killed one officer and 18 enlisted men; wounded 9 officers and 87 men, all of which are included in the list of casualties on a previous page. The enemy of Averysborough was led by General Hardee, who now joined Johnston at Bentonville.

After caring for its wounded, and burying its dead from the engagement at Averysborough, in the early morning of March 17th, the XIV Corps led the march according to the rule of alternation between the corps, in the direction of Bentonville. Three hours time was necessary to build a bridge across Black River, and the corps further marched eight miles and encamped by Mingo Creek in the evening twilight. Morgan's IInd Division led the march early the next morning. The enemy's cavalry was repeatedly in Morgan's front, and it as often hastened beyond the range of his small arms. At Mill Creek this cavalry had placed its artillery from which it fired on Morgan's advancing column, but a brigade was deployed which soon sent them and their guns scurrying in the distance. General Slocum came to the front at this time, and he directed Morgan to halt his front column until the others could come up. This required the greater part of the afternoon, and the troops were ordered into encampment for rest from their great fatigue. Late in the evening the XVth Corps of General Howard's Army of the

Tennessee arrived along the road near to the right of General Slocum's XIVth Corps of the Army of Georgia, and it there encamped. Slocum's XXth Corps encamped many miles in the rear.

It was a very unusual occurrence that a corps each of the two wings of Sherman's army came so near together in their great march as were Slocum's XIVth and Howard's XVth Corps the night of March 18th. General Sherman was greatly elated in the opening of communication with the Union fleet at Wilmington, and with the receipt of his mail and of supplies at Fayetteville as well as with the easy capture of the last named city. He saw nothing in the skirmishes following it and in the strong opposition of the enemy at Averysborough to lead him to surmise further opposition. In fact his mind was to the contrary. He had been riding with General Slocum from Fayetteville, and was constantly endeavoring to imbue his mind with the belief that all real opposition was over. The keen insight of affairs and the cautious judgment of General Slocum could not be led far astray, however, and he acted wisely in halting the advance column of his XIVth Corps, as he did. It would have been far better for Sherman's reputation had he deferred to Slocum's intuition and better judgment here as well as in several previous instances where Slocum saw clearer and safer than he.

CHAPTER XLV

Slocum Hard Beset at Bentonville

On the morning of March 19th there were two notable small groups of ragged wall-tents on a sloping hill-side about twenty-five miles east of Fayetteville and about the same distance from Goldsborough, North Carolina, toward which last named place the union armies were to move. Those tents formed the headquarters of General Slocum, who was host that night to General Sherman, and the other group was the headquarters of General J. C. Davis commanding Slocum's XIVth Corps.

The early spring morning was soft and balmy, and the shrubbery and some trees were covered with such delicate verdure as the soldiers were wont to see in May in their north-

ern homes. Fruit trees were in full bloom around Mr. Underhill's farm-house nearby and in other places by the roads. The reveille had sounded in the camps of the various regiments in the woods and fields around before 5 o'clock A. M. and the yet fatigued soldiers were enjoying their scant breakfast of hardtack and coffee with here and there a small morsel of choicer food the remains of a chance forage by the roadside or that had been conserved from the last supply at Fayetteville. It was Sunday morning, and a brigade band that had encamped in the little valley of Mill Creek below now played the familiar hymn of Old Hundred. Probably never before had the sweet notes of this grand old music sounded more sweetly than they did in the stillness of that bright spring morning to the weary soldiers whose thoughts they wafted to homes and the dearest of friends to the northward. Everything seemed to happily forebode a Sunday of peace to the ragged, many coatless, hatless and shoeless, but undismayed and strong hearted patriots. While the pride of glorious war was yet in full glow in their breasts, the 'pomp and circumstance' had temporarily fled. A hardier army of soldiers never carried a gun or helped a supply wagon out of the mire. Years of such experiences had resulted in retaining in the ranks only the most hardy and self-reliant. "The deeper the mud and the harder the march, the jollier they were; and a heavier rain pouring down on them as they went into camp, or a wetter swamp than usual to lie down in, only brought out a louder volley of jokes. An army of military Mark Tapleys, they strode onward, uncomplaining and jolly under the most difficult circumstances possible."[100]

General Sherman's 'supposing that all danger was over'[91] had infused buoyancy of spirit in all those of his officers who had been hearing him say, nearly as he wrote, "all signs induced me to believe that the enemy would make no further opposition to our progress, and would not attempt to strike us in the flank while in motion"—just what the enemy did do at once! Sherman expected to ride with the main officers of his Right Wing this day, March 19th. About 7 A. M. General Carlin's division of Slocum's XIVth Corps started on the forward march, and General John A. Logan's XVth Corps of Howard's Right Wing turned to the right and marched away about the same time.

Sherman, Slocum, and J. C. Davis commanding Slocum's XIVth Corps, rode together to the parting of Sherman's and their roads, and listened for a time to the early skirmishing noise of the enemy's opposition to the advance of Carlin's leading column. To Davis's remark that there was more than the usual opposition, Sherman replied from his preconceived opinion, "No, Jeff, there is nothing there but Dibbrell's cavalry. Brush them out of the way. Good morning; I'll meet you to-morrow morning at Cox's Bridge" and turning to the right he rode away to join Howard.[100]

General Slocum's men had marched but a short distance from their night's encampment when their advance guard met a strong skirmish line of the enemy's cavalry which was inclined to dispute the further progress of Slocum's men, most of whom had seen much experience as foreagers, and were among those misnamed as 'Sherman's Bummers' who had generally made short work of the enemy's cavalry desiring to keep between them and needed food supplies. But now their experience appealed to the better part of their and their officers' valor; and all of General Hobart's first brigade was rapidly brought forward, deployed, and pushed against the enemy. But slow progress was made, however, with hard fighting. At 10 A. M. the Union advance line had progressed but five miles, and the opposition increased. General Slocum directed General Kilpatrick to reconnoiter again with his cavalry, and to determine more fully the numbers and positions of the enemy; but his report was not more comprehensive than before. Slocum now sent Major Eugene W. Guindon of his staff to tell Gen. Sherman that he had been advancing, but slowly, and with great opposition. Colonel George P. Buell's second brigade was then ordered to make a detour to the left, and attack the enemy's line in the flank; but in the meantime Hobart's right flank was being attacked by the overlapping enemy, and Lieutenant Colonel Miles's third brigade was deployed against him there. All of General Carlin's division was now in line of battle, and confronting strong lines of the enemy all along. Both the right and left of the Union line were ordered to assail the enemy and, with severe fighting they gained possession of several hundred yards more of the enemy's ground. Upon order they made another bold dash and found themselves

"all unprepared against a line of earth-works manned with infantry and strengthened with artillery. The enemy opened upon them such a destructive fire that they were compelled to fall back with great loss. Many men and officers and two regimental commanders had fallen, and the whole line was severely shattered; but very important information had been gained. Observations and the reports of prisoners captured left little reason to doubt that General Joseph E. Johnston's whole army was in position in our immediate front, and the persistent fighting of the enemy's cavalry had been intended to give the main body of the enemy time for ample preparation."

The morning was now gone. General Slocum had been closely studying the situation, and he was now in close conversation with his commander of this (the XIVth) corps in the woods to the left of the road when a deserter from the enemy approached them in charge of a member of General Carlin's staff. This deserter from the enemy was an intersting specimen of the 'galvanized Yankee' class, men of the Union forces who had been captured by the enemy and who, rather than suffer an uncertain prison existence, had enlisted in the enemy's army. He was anxious to tell his story, and it was full of interest to General Slocum. He said that General Joseph E. Johnston had gathered an army of over thirty thousand men, and that this force was strongly intrenched immediately in front of Slocum's advance line. That Johnston, Hardee, Cheatham, and Hoke, had just ridden among their men, and that all were in the highest degree of expectation of capturing all of Sherman's forces scattered as they were along different roads, they 'could easily crush him in detail;' and that Slocum's XIVth Corps was now in their power, and that they 'would now take in those two light divisions [immediately opposing them] out of the wet.' All doubt of this man's sincerity and truthfulness was dispelled by his recognition as John T. Williams by a member of General Slocum's staff and as a comrade soldier who enlisted with him at Syracuse, New York. Further evidence of Williams' truthfulness soon came in and the confirmatory report of Colonel Henry G. Litchfield of General J. C. Davis's staff and assistant inspector-general of the XIVth Corps. This officer had been inspecting the lines of Slocum's two divisions, and making observations and gathering

data regarding the enemy and, in answer to Slocum's inquiry he replied: "Well, general, I find a great deal more than Dibbrell's cavalry: I find infantry entrenched along our whole front, and enough of them to give us all the amusement we want for the rest of the day."

General Robinson's small brigade of Slocum's XXth Corps had now arrived, making General Slocum's forces now at hand less than ten thousand men and one battery of artillery, which were opposing an enemy composed of between thirty and forty thousand troops who had chosen their own ground, strengthened it with earth-works and artillery, and in choice positions. These forces were fully prepared and confident of success, while Slocum had been deceived by his ranking confidant and friend! He was now fully undeceived, and he continued his energetic work to make the most vigorous defensive fighting possible to him. We will now let General Alexander C. McClurg, chief of General J. C. Davis's staff, tell of the battle that followed, as he witnessed it: "Every precaution was taken, and the men all along our line were in the act of throwing up hasty field-works, when the attack [of the enemy] came upon us like a whirlwind. I had gone to the rear, by direction of General Slocum, to order General Williams, commanding the XXth Corpus, to push his troops to the front with all possible speed. I found him less than a mile in the rear, whither he had ridden far in advance of his troops. Receiving the order, he galloped back to his command, the greater part of which was still several miles to the rear and clogged in almost impassable roads; and I again started for the front, where the roar of musketry and artillery was continuous. Almost immediately I met masses of men slowly and doggedly falling back along the road, and through the fields and open woods on the left of the road. They were retreating, and evidently with good cause; but there was nothing of the panic and rout so often seen on battle-fields earlier in the war. They were retreating but they were not demoralized. Minie-balls were whizzing in every direction, although I was then far from the front line as I had left it only a short time before. Pushing on through these retreating men, and down the road, I met two pieces of artillery—a section of the 19th Indiana battery—and was dashing past it, when the lieutenant in command called out

'For Heaven's sake don't go down there! I am the last man of the command. Everything is gone in front of you. The lieutenant commanding my battery and most of the men and horses are killed, and four guns are captured. These two guns are all we have left.' Checking my horse, I saw the rebel regiments in front in full view, stretching through the fields to the left as far as the eye could reach, advancing rapidly, and firing as they came. Everything seemed hopeless on our center and left; but in the swampy woods on the right of the road our line seemed still to be holding its position. An overwhelming force had struck Carlin's entire division and Robinson's brigade, and was driving them off the field. The onward sweep of the rebel lines was like the waves of the ocean, resistless. Nothing in Carlin's thin and attenuated line, decimated as it had already been, could stand before it. It had been placed in position on the theory of the morning, that it was driving back a division of cavalry; but in view of the fact that it was fighting an army, its position was utterly untenable. As it fell back, General Carlin himself, unwilling to leave the field, was cut off from his troops, and narrowly escaped death or capture. General Morgan's division on the right, had also been heavily assailed; but it was better situated, and not being at this time outflanked, it held its position. One of Morgan's brigades—that of General Fearing—being in reserve, had not been engaged. When the left first began to give way, General Davis sent Colonel Litchfield to Fearing with instructions to hold his brigade in readiness to march in any direction. A few moments later, when the left was falling back and the rebel line was sweeping after them in hot pursuit, General Davis came plunging through the swamp on his fiery white mare toward the reserve. 'Where is that brigade, Litchfield?' 'Here it is sir, ready to march.' It was in columns of regiments, faced to the front. Ordering it swung round to the left, General Davis shouted, 'Advance upon their flank, Fearing? Deploy as you go! Strike them wherever you find them! Give them the best you've got, and we'll whip them yet!' All this was uttered with an emphasis and fire known only upon the field of battle. The men caught up the closing words, and shouted back, 'Hurrah for old Jeff! We'll whip 'em yet!' as they swung off through the woods at a rattling pace. Officers and men, from

General Fearing down, were alike inspired with the spirit of their commander and 'We'll whip them yet!' might well be considered their battle-cry. They struck the successful enemy with resistless impetuosity, and were quickly engaged in a desperate conflict. Upon this movement, in all probability, turned the fortunes of the day. It was the right thing, done at the right time. Seeing at once that, as Fearing advanced his right flank must in turn become exposed, General Davis sent to General Slocum begging for another brigade to move in upon Fearing's right and support him. Fortunately, Coggswell's fine brigade of the XXth Corps arrived not long after upon the field, and it was ordered to report to General Davis for that purpose. Not often does an officer, coming upon the field with tired troops, (for his men had marched all the night previous) display the alacrity which General Coggswell showed on receiving his orders from General Davis to move forward into that roaring abyss of musketry firing. It was splendidly done. The men of these two brigades—Fearing's and Coggswell's—seemed to divine that upon them had devolved the desperate honor of stemming the tide of defeat, and turning it into victory; and magnificently they responded. Finer spirit and enthusiasm could not be shown by the troops; and it is no wonder that, after a fierce and bloody contest, the flushed and victorious troops of the enemy, thus taken in their flank, gave way, and in their turn fell back in confusion. So stunned and bewildered were they by this sudden and unexpected attack that their whole line withdrew from all the ground they had gained, and apparently re-entered their works. And now there was a lull along the whole front, which gave invaluable time for the re-formation of our shattered lines. It was late in the afternoon, and if the ground could be held until night-fall the right wing would undoubtedly be within supporting distance by the next morning at daylight.''[100]

CHAPTER XLVI

Conquers the Last Chance of the Confederacy

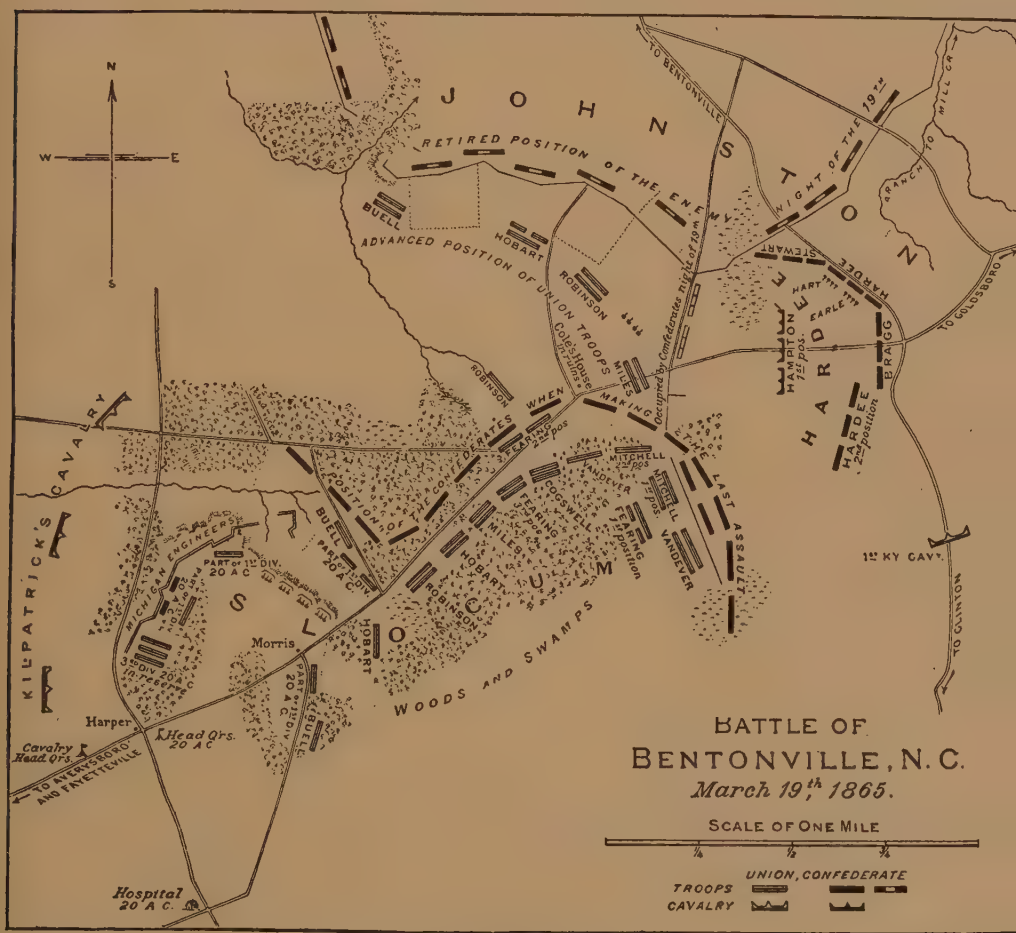
"Rapidly the work of reorganization and re-formation was carried on. Morgan's line, on the right of the road, was yet intact, and its left needed only to be slightly refused. Carlin's troops—veterans as they were, and used to all the vicissitudes of the battle-field—were easily rallied in a new line, considerably to the rear of their former position, with the left sharply refused, and supported by such troops of the XXth Corps as had reached the front. The center of the new line rested upon a slight elevation, with open fields in front, across which the enemy must advance to a second attack. Here several batteries of artillery were massed with a certainty of doing good service. To the surprise of every one, a full hour was allowed by the enemy for these new dispositions; and it was about five o'clock before their long line was again seen emerging from the pine woods and swampy thickets in front and began sweeping across the open fields. As soon as they appeared our artillery opened upon them with most destructive effect. Still they pressed gallantly on, but only to be met with a well-delivered fire from our infantry, securely posted behind hastily improvised field-works, such as our troops were then well skilled in throwing up in a brief time, and of which they had dearly learned the value. Attack after attack was gallantly met and repulsed, and the golden opportunity of the enemy upon our left was lost. Meanwhile, the heat of the conflict was raging in front of and around Morgan's division, in the low swampy woods to the front and on the right of the road. This Union division had filed into position between one and two o'clock in the day with two brigades—General John G. Mitchell's and General Vandervere's—in line of battle. When, a little later, the troops upon the left had been swept away, the third brigade, Fearing's, had been faced to the left, as we have seen and, supported later by Coggswell, had made their gallant and effective charge upon the advancing enemy, checking him and forcing him back to his works. In this charge many had fallen, and the young and dashing Brigadier Fearing had been severely wounded and disabled. Retiring from the field he left his brigade, shattered and still heavily pressed, to the command

of the gallant officer Lieutenant-Colonel James W. Langley of the 125th Illinois Regiment. After their charge the brigades of Coggswell and Langley held position in a gap which existed between the divisions of Carlin and Morgan. But the gap was so large that these two decimated commands could but partially fill it. Morgan's whole division was now so stretched out over such an extent of ground that all his troops were in the front line, and he had no men left for a second line or a reserve. As all old troops were wont to do at that time when in the presence of the enemy, they had at once fallen to building such field-works as could be hastily thrown up with rails and light timber. As one of their officers expressed it, they had often attacked works, but they had rarely had the pleasure of fighting behind them themselves, and they rather enjoyed the prospect. They were there, and they meant to stay. Their skirmishers were heavily engaged from the time they took position, and they found the enemy in front in force and shielded by well-constructed works. They were fighting more or less severely until about half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy attempted to carry their position by assault. The charge was desperate and persistent, and the roar of musketry, as it rolled up from the low wood, was incessant. For half an hour it continued, and the commander of the corps, General Davis, sat uneasily on his horse a short distance in the rear and listened to it. He could do nothing but let these men fight it out. Not a maneuver could be made, and not a regiment could be sent to their assistance; even his escort and headquarters guard were in the line. Still that terrible and continuous roar came back through the woods, and the smoke obscured everything in front. No ground seemed to be yielded, and not a straggler could be seen. After a while a slight cessation was noticed in the firing; and by direction of General Davis I rode forward toward the line to ascertain definitely how matters stood. The ground was swampy, and here and there were openings through the trees, while generally bushes and thickets obstructed the view. I had gone but a few rods when I caught a glimpse through a vista, obliquely to the left, of a column of men moving to the right straight across my path and directly in the rear of our line, though out of sight of it. They looked like rebels and my sharp-sighted orderly, Batter-

son, said they were 'rebs;' but the view was obscured by smoke, and the idea that the enemy could be in that position was preposterous. I hesitated but a moment, and pressed on. An hundred yards further through the bushes, and I broke out suddenly into a large, nearly circular, open space containing perhaps half an acre. Here the view was not a cheerful one. On the opposite side of the opening, at perhaps twenty-five yards' distance, was a body of unmistakable rebel troops, marching by the flank in column of fours toward the right. Beyond the column, under a wide-spreading tree, dismounted, stood a group of Confederate officers, whose appearance and uniforms indicated high rank. As I broke through the bushes, and my horse floundered in the mire for the ground was very soft , I was greeted with cheers and shouts of 'come down off that horse, Yank!' Two or three years earlier I should have quietly accepted the invitation; but we had all grown used to dangers, and preferred a little risk to the prospect of a Confederate prison. I gathered up my plunging horse, and struck my spurs vigorously into his sides turning him sharply to the right and rear just in time to become entangled with my orderly who came through the bushes behind and on the right of me. Both horses went down together; and perhaps it is well they did, for just then my hilarious friends across the way, finding their summons not likely to be obeyed, sent a volley of minie-balls recklessly about our heads, and I saw the little twigs and leaves which were cut off by the bullets flutter down around us as we, having extricated our horses, disappeared through the bushes. Neither man nor horse was hit. As usual in their haste, our friends [the enemy] had fired high. I rode about a hundred yards to the right and tried again to reach our line, but again encountered the enemy. This time I was more cautious, however. A third attempt a little further to the right carried me beyond their column. In my ride I had met General Morgan. He was now thoroughly informed of his perilous situation. Mitchell's brigade had already discovered the intruders in their rear, who at first were thought by them to be reinforcements. At this time the division had successfully resisted the persistent attacks from the front, and General Vandevere's brigade, leaping over their works, had pursued the retreating rebels into their own works again. In this pursuit the

14th Michigan regiment had captured the colors of the 40th North Carolina regiment. Fortunately, all was now quiet in front, and General Morgan quickly got his men to the reverse of their own works. In other words they were now in front of their works, and prepared to sustain an attack from their former rear. Hardee's corps, or a considerable part of it, had passed through the opening in the line on the left, and Hardee and his staff were the group of officers I had seen under the tree superintending the movement, or so I was informed the next day by a captive Confederate captain. The enemy attacked vigorously but instead of taking Morgan by surprise, he found him ready. Again the struggle was sharp and bloody, but brief. Nothing could stand that day before the veterans of the old second division. Truly they were enjoying the novelty of fighting behind works. Hardee was repulsed with severe loss. The men again leaped over their own works, and charged to the rear taking many prisoners. The 14th Michigan captured the battle-flag of the 54th Virginia in the rear of their works just as, a short time before, they had captured the North Carolina flag in front. An incident like this where troops resist in quick succession attacks from front and rear, is exceptional in the annals of any battle; and yet it was repeated several times in the eventful history of Mitchell's and Vandervere's brigades that afternoon. Not once, but several times between four and half past six o'clock, they scaled their works and met and repelled the charges of the enemy from their rear. It is impossible to accord too high admiration to troops who, knowing themselves without connection or support on their right or left flanks, and overwhelmingly attacked in front and in rear, who could preserve all their steadiness and generally good soldierly qualities, fighting now in the rear and now in the front of their own works, and could successfully hold their position during several hours of almost continuous fighting. This, these two brigades had done. They had not lost a foot of ground, and had contributed their full share on that trying field to wrest victory from seemingly inevitable defeat. At length daylight faded, and gradually the firing along the whole line ceased. Never was coming darkness more welcome to wearied soldiers. Every one knew that before morning the troops of the Right Wing would have marched to our assist-

ance, and that General Johnston's great effort was handsomely foiled."[100] The foregoing description of the remarkably good work of this part of General Slocum's command, was but the result of true American patriots who had been carefully trained



and disciplined for the best possible work of this high character by General Slocum well supported by his line of admirable subordinate officers. Into what irregular and detached positions the troops upon the field had been thrown by the desperate wrestle

of the afternoon is shown by another dramatic incident which occurred soon after night-fall, namely: "General Mitchell, tired and worn out, had borowed a rubber blanket and was just comfortably settled on the ground, when an officer came and waked him, saying, 'Here is a staff officer with a message for you.' He sat up and was confronted by a bright young fellow who said, Colonel Hardee presents his compliments to you, and asks that you will apprise your line that he is forming in your front to charge the Yankee lines on your left.' General Mitchell sprang to his feet and asked him to repeat his message, which he did. The General inquired what Colonel Hardee it was; and was told Colonel Hardee of the 23rd Georgia, commanding a brigade in Hoke's division. General Mitchell asked the young gentleman if he had had his supper and being told that he had not he was politely sent in charge of a staff officer to the officer in charge of the prisoners in the rear. General Mitchell then drew in his entire picket line, and gave orders that at the tap of a drum his whole line should fire one volley, and that the picket line should then resume its position without further orders. By the time this was arranged the marching and even the talking of the Confederate line in front could be distinctly heard. One loud tap was given on a bass drum, and one volley was fired low; and General Mitchell says, 'I never expect to hear again such a volume of mingled cries, groans, screams, and curses. The next morning there was displayed in front of our works, among the dead, a line of new Enfield rifles and knapsacks, almost as straight as if laid out for a Sunday morning inspection. When we reached Raleigh a week or two later, some of my officers went to see Colonel Hardee who was there in hospital wounded. He told them that his men had been in the fortification in and around Wilmington during the whole war; that they had never before been in battle, and had not participated in this fight during the day. They were brought out for this night attack, and were determined to go right over the Yankee lines; and, breathing fire, they had vowed to take no prisoners. But out of the stillness of that dark night came that tremendous volley right in their faces and flank. 'The fools'—these were Colonel Hardee's words—'thought they were discovered and surrounded. They ran, and I have do doubt they are still running, for we have never been

able to get ten of them together since their flight.' No further attempt, it is needless to say, was made to disturb the Yankee lines during the night. Considering the great disaster which was imminent, and which was averted, it is not too much to claim for this engagement that it was one of the most decisive of the lesser battles of the war. When Johnston, with skillful strategy, and with wonderful celerity and secrecy, massed his scattered troops near the little hamlet of Bentonville, and placed them unknown to his great adversary in a strong position directly across the road upon which two 'light divisions' as he expressed it, were marching, he proposed to himself nothing less than to sweep these two divisions from the field in the first furious onset; and then, hurrying on with flushed and victorious troops to attack, in deep column and undeployed, the two divisions of the XXth Corps which, through heavy and miry roads, would be hastening to the assistance of their comrades. These divisions he expectedto crush easily, while General Sherman and the Right Wing were many miles from the field. Then, with half his army destroyed, with supplies exhausted, and far from any base, he believed General Sherman and his Right Wing only, would no longer be a match for his elated and eager troops. Never before, in all the long struggle, had fortune and circumstances so united to favor him, and never before had hope shone so brightly. If Sherman's army were destroyed, the Confederacy would be inspired with new spirit, and ultimate success would be at last probable. Doubtless such dreams as these flitted through General Johnston's mind on that Sunday morning, when his well-laid plans seemed so sure of execution. With what a sad and heavy heart he turned at night from the hard-fought field, realizing that the last great opportunity was lost, we can only imagine. As the sun went down that night it undoubtedly carried with it in the mind of General Johnston, at least, the last hopes of the Southern Confederacy.''[100]

CHAPTER XLVII

Battle of Bentonville Concluded. Official Report

After the close of the war Captain Joseph B. Foraker—a lieutenant in the signal service, and the youngest member of General Slocum's staff at the time of the Battle of Bentonville, and who in later years was during different terms Governor of Ohio, and United States Senator—seeing some misstatements regarding this battle, wrote to General Slocum substantially as follows: Firing between the men on the skirmish-line commenced before Sherman left us on the morning of the 19th of March, but he asserted that there was nothing but cavalry in our front. The firing was continued steadily, and it constantly increased in volume. Finally there was a halt in the column. General Slocum expressed anxiety and sent Major W. G. Tracy and J. B. Foraker of his staff to the front to ascertain definitely the condition of affairs. At the edge of open fields next to the woods in which the barricades were, they found the halted Union skirmish line. After a few minutes it again moved forward, and the enemy partly reserved their fire until it got half-way or more across the field. This induced Tracy and Foraker to think there was but little danger and they followed closely until the enemy again began a spirited firing "in the midst of which we were sorry to find ourselves. I remember we hardly knew what to do —we could do no good by going on and none by remaining. To be killed under such circumstances would look like a waste of raw material, we thought. But the trouble was to get out. We didn't want to turn back, as we thought that would not look well. While we were thus hesitating a nearly spent ball struck Tracy on the leg, giving him a slight but painful wound. Almost at the same moment our skirmishers charged and drove the rebels. . . . I rode back with Tracy only a very short distance, when we met General Slocum hurrying to the front. I found that Slocum had been already informed of the enemy's strong intrenchment, and had sent orders for everybody to hurry to the front. I remember, too, that a little later Major Mosely, I think, though it may have been some other member of General Slocum's staff, suggested that Slocum ought to have the advance division charge and drive the enemy out of the way; that it could

not be possible that there was much force ahead of us, and that if we waited for the others to come up we should lose a whole day, and if it should turn out that there was nothing to justify such caution it would look bad for the Left Wing. To this General Slocum replied patiently but in an earnest manner, 'I can afford to be charged with being dilatory or over cautious, but I cannot afford the responsibility of having my command crushed and captured as another command was at Ball's Bluff.' These remarks made a lasting impersssion on me. It excited my confidence and admiration, and then was the first moment that I began to feel that there was really serious work before us. . .

General Slocum handed me a written message to take to General Sherman. The last words he spoke to me as I started were, 'Ride well to the right so as to keep clear of the enemy's left flank, and don't spare horse-flesh.' I reached General Sherman just about sundown. He was on the left side of the road on a sloping hillside, where, as I understood, he had halted only a few minutes before for the night. His staff was about him. I think General Howard was there, but I do not now remember seeing him—but on the hillside twenty yards farther up Logan was lying on a blanket. Sherman saw me approaching and walked briskly toward me, took Slocum's message, tore it open, read it, and called out 'John Logan! where is Logan?' as though fully aroused to his duty from deep reverie. Just then Logan jumped up and started toward us. He too walked briskly but before he had reached us Sherman had informed him of the situation and ordered him to turn General Hazen and his command back and have him report to General Slocum. It was not yet dark when I rode away carrying an answer to General Slocum's message. It was after midnight when I got back, the ride back being so much longer in point of time because the road was full of troops, it was dark, and my 'horse-flesh' was used up.''[22]

The afternoon of this day, March 19th, occurred some of the most stubborn fighting experienced at any time during the war, against great odds in numbers, and first behind the meager breastworks and then in front of them both in pursuing the enemy and, again, when assailed in the rear, as portrayed on a previous page. Fortunate it was for General Slocum's small and nearly exhausted force when the clouds from the sky joined the

smoke of battle and the shadows of the trees thus preventing a seventh charge of the enemy's strong force which was then withdrawn for more desultory skirmishing. General Slocum's men bivouacked for the night at their advanced line after strengthening here and there their shattered breastworks.

Two of General Geary's brigades of Slocum's XXth Corps arrived on the field at daybreak next morning, March 20th, and they relieved the most fatigued and depleted brigades which then retired from the front. Other changes of the troops conduced to the rest of those who had been in the most vigilant places during the night, and were nearly exhausted. A heavy rain was falling, but Slocum early ordered a strong line of skirmishers to advance against the enemy's line, which offered strong resistance, but was driven back.

General Morgan was directed to advance against the enemy on the right which he did and, finding his lines changed, he changed his own line accordingly and, also, to accommodate the XVth Corps of Sherman's Right Wing which was now approaching the enemy's left flank. Upon reconnoitering the situation in that quarter by General Howard, he reported to Generals Sherman and Slocum that the enemy would soon retreat. This had become a foregone conclusion as the enemy was now surrounded on three sides by the combined Union forces, and Mill Creek was in his rear.

Johnston's army was badly crippled in the battle with General Slocum; and his chief object now was to get away as soon and as easily as practicable. His plans had been altogether different from those for retreat, and some time was required for this change. The Union forces continued to skirmish and harass him during the day of the 21st, and the next morning, March 22nd, the enemy's defensive works were found deserted. General Sherman had been in command two days against the shattered enemy and, again, he had let Johnston escape.

General Sherman's reports regarding the condition of affairs preceding this Battle of Bentonville, and his action regarding it, are very much mixed. Sherman accompanied Slocum from Fayetteville, and continually overshadowed his characteristic caution with his own belief that there would be no further trouble with the enemy on the south side of the Neuse River. Sher-

man wrote in his report that, "All signs induced me to believe that the enemy would not attempt to strike us in the flank while in motion. I therefore directed Howard to move his Right Wing by the new Goldsborough Road, which goes by way of Falling Creek Church. I also left Slocum and joined Howard's column."[101] On the next page of this report, after merely mentioning Slocum's successful battle against his (Sherman's) old enemies in Tennessee (the Confederate Generals Robert F. Hoke, William J. Hardee, Benjamin F. Cheatham, and Joseph E. Johnston and their near forty thousand men) and mentioning their full expectation of defeating Slocum's scattered forces first and then the other parts of Sherman's army one by one, Sherman continues his report in a chuckling mood, and confusing statement, namely: "But he [Johnston] reckoned without his host. I had expected just such a movement all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it."[101] In this connection see H. V. Boynton's book on Sherman's Memoirs in the Light of the Record.[96] Later, Sherman expressed regrets that he did not earnestly attempt a capture of Johnston's army.[116]

General Sherman minimized Slocum's battle of March 19th, devoting but a few words to it in his Memoirs while he devoted long space to his events of the next two days in letting Johnston's army escape. The facts of the losses of the first day speak loudly for Slocum's small force, namely: Out of ten thousand men actually engaged with Slocum, his loss during that memorable day was 1,200; and his enemy, General Johnston in his narrative of the battle admits his loss as 1,915. In all the fighting of the next two days, Sherman's loss in both his armies was but little over 400; and Johnston states his loss as 428. These figures should have been enough for Sherman; but he would neither believe Johnston nor his own officers. Again he wrote in his Memoirs: "I doubt if, after the first attack on Carlin's division [of Slocum's men] the fighting was as desperate as described in Johnston's narrative;" and the full reports of his officers had been passed by him as correct!

A prominent officer of General Sherman's staff who saw much of General Slocum during this great march wrote of him at the time of this battle in part as follows: "The Battle of Bentonville was General Slocum's fight. While his name is

most honorably associated with almost every great battle of this war from Bull Run to Gettysburg in the East, and since his advent in the Southwest, the bloody combat at Bentonville was peculiarly his own affair, out of which he has come with fresh laurels. The unexpected attack, the fierce assaults by far superior numbers, several times repeated, called for all the resources of a brave, cool, experienced soldier; but Slocum was more than equal to the necessities of the hour, for he was victorious, and his success justified General Sherman's selection of him as the commander of the Left Wing of the army. General Slocum enjoys the reputation of a thoroughly accomplished soldier. It is probably owing to his complete mastery of all the details of his profession, his keen sense of order and discipline, and his energetic and magnetic manner, that the XXth Corps, which he commanded for a long time, has gained its splendid reputation. He is a native of New York, and is as proud of his State as his State is proud of him. His personal appearance is prepossessing Long, wavy brown hair, brushed back behind his ears, sparkling brown eyes, a heavy brown mustache, a height above the medium, and a manner which inspires faith and confidence, make up a most attractive figure. He seems to know precisely what he has to do, and to be perfectly sure that he can do it. It is very certain that he is one of those rare men who has made few if any mistakes."[115]

Another prominent writer of the time reads, that: "Like Hood's at Atlanta the onset of Johnston on Slocum at Bentonville was one of the most desperate of the war. In successive waves, one column followed another, determined to carry Slocum's position at any sacrifice. Mowed down by Slocum's terrible fire, the first column reeled backward and broke, when the second column came on in the same headlong desperation. The whole fury of the attack spent itself at this time in less than an hour, and yet in that time the enemy made six successive assaults. The last charge broke for a moment Slocum's line; but it recovered its position, and the rebel army, baffled and discouraged, fell back to its entrenchments. So close and murderous was the combat, that many of the enemy's dead lay within the Union lines, and even around the headquarters of the generals. For the time it lasted, it was one of the most sanguinary

battles of the war, and the only serious one fought after leaving Atlanta. No better fighting was seen during the war then at Bentonville, on the 19th of March, for Johnston must have had double the number of Slocum, and a less able general would have been overborne . . . General Slocum is a man of fine personal appearance, being above the medium height, and possessing a manner that at once attracts the beholder. His long brown wavy hair is pushed back behind his ears, which gives additional force to the frank, open expression of his countenance. His eyes are brown and sparkle with light, while his whole expression inspires confidence and trust, and gives him a sort of magnetic power over his troops. Probably there is no general in the service who is more thoroughly master of all the details of his profession than he. A lover of order and a strict disciplinarian, he brought the XXth Corps to a state of perfection that has given it a national reputation. It was of vital importance to Sherman in the novel campaigns he was entering upon, to have commanders over the two wings of his army that never made mistakes, and it was on this account he brought Slocum from Vicksburg to be his left hand in the long march he contemplated. Probably no commander ever leaned with such implicit confidence on three subordinates as Sherman did on Thomas, Howard and Slocum. Slocum's character cannot be better summed up than in the language of an eminent judge, who in a private letter never designed to be made public, says: 'He was always equal to the task set before him, and never was known to fail in any enterprise which he undertook. He is certainly one of the most persevering and indefatigable men I ever knew, and was always esteemed lucky, while it was plain to me that his successes were the result of calculation and the most indomitable energy. While he is modest and unobtrusive, he possesses genius of the highest order, and a well balanced mind; always cool and ready to baffle difficulties, whether small or great; for he has inexhaustible mental resources in an emergency, and can bring them to bear with wonderful power in the right direction and at the proper moment to insure success. I consider him qualified for the highest stations in the gift of the Government; but his proverbial modesty will probably keep him back from reaching any of them. And he seems to have no ambition in that

direction."[111] . . . These estimates of General Slocum's character have been proved correct by many witnesses; also his modesty and non-assertiveness in civil affairs were later shown at different times when the highest offices were open to him, as will be shown later in this book.

The reader understands from the preceding pages that the Campaign of the Carolinas was far more difficult and hazardous than was the Atlanta-Savannah Campaign. Naturally the country averaged more flat and swampy in the Carolinas, the season was more wet and cold, and the enemy was far more numerous to be guarded against and contended with.

General Sherman well knew that General Joseph E. Johnston, his enemy in Tennessee and northwestern Georgia, had been called to North Carolina to gather the scattered commands of Hardee, Hood, Wheeler, Hoke, Cheatham, Hampton and other officers, and that they had been gradually closing in around him most of his way through these States; and he rightly estimated their strength as near forty thousand men. After crossing the line into North Carolina evidences of their nearness became more and more apparent, as Sherman's course became more apparent to them. Sherman was a profuse letter writer, as evidenced by the Official Records. He passed his time in Fayetteville in writing of his enemies. In one letter he wrote: "I can whip Joe Johnston provided he does not catch one of my corps in flank, and I will see that the army marches hence to Goldsborough in compact form." But this resolve was soon forgotten, and the enemy's plans to break his army into pieces and thus to capture all, went rapidly on. In justice to Slocum's characteristically circumspect attention to his army, of its surroundings, and of its good work in strategy and in all details, we must class Sherman's strong efforts to throw Slocum off his guard while on their way from Fayetteville to the place of their parting in proximity to the fully combined forces of the enemy, as the worst feature and act of this nerve-shattered, erratic, but great commander.

The enemy retreated during the night of March 21st toward Smithfield, leaving many of his dead unburied and of his wounded and prisoners in the possession of the Unionists. He was followed but two miles when Sherman recalled the troops to march to Cox's Bridge, the former objective point of Slocum's

army at the Neuse River, where his XIVth Corps arrived in the evening after marching eleven miles. His XXth Corps marched by way of Troublefield's store and encamped for the night at the crossroads near Falling Creek. The next morning this corps followed the XIVth across the river and it encamped at Beaver Creek. Late at night the wagon trains of the XXth Corps were moved toward Goldsborough, and they were followed in the early morning by the troops. Here General Sherman's armies were passed under review, Thursday March 23rd, of their generals, namely: General Slocum's Army of Georgia, General Howard's Army of the Tennessee, and General John M. Schofield's Army of the Ohio which had recently been transferred from the West to Wilmington, North Carolina, whence communication with Sherman was opened by way of Fayetteville.

As General Slocum's men were approaching Goldsborough General Schofield paraded his XXIIIrd Corps in their honor, as they had fought near each other in different battles in Tennessee. Slocum's men being directly from the Battle of Bentonville, all were nearly and some entirely shoeless, and what was left of their other clothing was indelibly stained with mud of every color they had encountered in their long march; and their faces were firmly begrimed by the soot of their pine-knot camp fires; but their guns were in good condition like their spirits. Schofield's men were clothed in new uniforms, and they had time to keep them in as good condition as their guns. While Slocum's men were marching past their reviewers the spirit of good natured chaffing was rife. 'Well sonnies' one of Slocum's men called to the freshly shaved and dressed men of General Jacob D. Cox's XXIIIrd Corps, 'do they issue butter to you regularly now?' 'Oh, yes, to be sure!' was the instant retort; 'but we trade it off for soap!' This reply, with emphasis on the word we, was greeted with hearty laughter on both sides, followed soon by rousing cheers by Cox's men when they realized the name of the passing command.[102] General Slocum's men passed into comfortable encampment in the neighborhood of Goldsborough, and there they received in remarkably short time complete outfitting of clothing, and some time for comparative rest.

On account of General Slocum's Army of Georgia having been hastily organized during the stress of preparation for the Savannah Campaign, and the breaking of communication with all Union armies other than General Howard's Army of the Tennessee, record of Slocum's army organization was not transmitted to the War Department, or was not received there for record. General U. S. Grant recognized this fact when Slocum's army arrived at Goldsborough, and he at once telegraphed to the War Department to have the missing data there recorded, and a copy of it sent to General Sherman. This was necessary for the forwarding of army business, enabling every commander of an army to sign discharges from military service, and other important papers relating to the conduct of his command.[103]

A division of the enemy's cavalry passed a little east of Slocum's encampment at Goldsborough, and he suggested to Sherman the necessity for his (Sherman's) train to New Berne having a strong guard, as Sherman was inclined to go beyond the Union lines without sufficient protection.

On the 31st of March General Slocum was requested to recommend worthy officers in his command for division quartermasters with the rank of Major.

The officers now prepared their respective Official Reports at Goldsborough, that of General Slocum being as follows:

HEADQUARTERS LEFT WING, Army of Georgia.
Goldsborough, N. C., March 30, 1865.

MAJOR: I have the honor of submitting the following report of the operations of the Left Wing of the army from our arrival at Savannah to the present date:

The Second Division of the Twentieth Corps entered Savannah on the morning of December 21, and was encamped in the city doing garrison duty from that date until January 19, when it was relieved by Grover's division of the Nineteenth Corps; General Geary, the division commander, performing the duties of military governor of the city. The duties devolving upon General Geary and his command, during our occupancy of Savannah, were important and of a delicate nature, and were discharged in a most creditable manner. Private property was protected and good order preserved throughout the city. General Geary discharged his duties to the entire satisfaction of the military and civil authorities, and won the confidence and esteem of all who had business connections with him. The Fourteenth Corps and the First and Third Divisions of the Twentieth Corps were encamped north of the city. On

the last of December a pontoon bridge was constructed, under charge of Colonel Buell, across the Savannah River, and on the 1st day of January Ward's division moved over to the Carolina side, encamping about six miles from the river, on the Union Causeway.

On the 17th of January Jackson's division crossed the river and, together with Ward's moved forward to Hardeeville. It was intended the Twentieth Corps should march to Robertsville as soon as the Right Wing commenced the march from Pocotaligo, while the Fourteenth Corps, moving up on the Georgia side of the river, should cross at Sister's Ferry and effect a junction with the Twentieth near Robertsville. An extraordinary freshet occurred before Geary's division could be moved over, when swept away a large portion of the Union Causeway from Savannah to Hardeeville and overflowed all the lowlands bordering the river. It soon became impossible to communicate with the troops on the Carolina side except by boats. On the 19th Jackson's division moved to Purysburg, from which point both his division and that of General Ward drew their supplies. On the 20th of January the Fourteenth Corps commenced its march for Sister's Ferry, but its progress was slow and difficult. It was followed by Geary's division of the Twentieth Corps and Corse's of the Fifteenth, which had also been prevented by the high water from crossing at Savannah. On the 29th of January the Fourteenth Corps, Geary's division of the Twentieth Corps. Corse's division of the Fifteenth Corps, and Kilpatrick's cavalry were encamped at Sister's Ferry, on the Georgia side of the Savannah River. On the same day the First and Third Divisions of the Twentieth Corps moved to Robertsville, three miles from Sister's Ferry, on the Carolina side of the river. On the morning of the 29th I crossed to the Carolina side and endeavored to open communication with General Williams, commanding the Twentieth Corps, who had accompanied the first and Third Divisions of his corps, but did not succeed in doing so until the following day. Nearly all the country bordering the river was overflowed by water from one to ten feet in depth. After landing on the side on which Williams troops were encamped I was obliged to use a row-boat in opening communication with him, yet I had not only to open communication with him but had to place at the point he occupied at least 20,000 troops, with an immense train of wagons, numbering at least 1,000. A pontoon bridge was constructed on the 29th, and five days were spent in removing obstructions placed in the road by the enemy, and in building bridges, trestle-work, and corduroy. In addition to the obstacles presented by the flood and fallen timber (most of which was under water) we found torpedoes buried in the road, many of which exploded, killing and wounding several soldiers.

On the evening of February 3rd, the road was finished so that we could pass from the bridge to the high ground three miles distant, and Kilpatrick's cavalry at once commenced crossing. The troops and trains were kept moving constantly during the night, as well as the day, but the condition of the road was such that the rear of the command was

not on the Carolina side until the evening of February 5th. Geary's and Corse's divisions followed the cavalry with orders to load their wagons at the depots, which had been established above the ferry, and proceed at once to join their respective corps. Williams had been ordered on the 2nd of February to proceed with the two divisions of his command from Robertsville to Graham's Station on the South Carolina Railroad and to report in person to General Sherman. He moved by way of Lawtonville and Duck Branch Post-office, reaching Graham's Station at 12, noon, on the 7th inst. (February). He met with some opposition from the enemy, particularly near Lawtonville, where barricades had been constructed and the roads blockaded. He soon forced the enemy to retire. His loss was fourteen killed and wounded. I accompanied General Geary on his march from Savannah River to Blackville at which point he rejoined his corps. General Davis, commanding the Fourteenth Corps, was directed, as soon as his wagons were loaded, to move by way of Barnwell to a point on the South Carolina Railroad near Williston Station. He was delayed on account of a deficiency of subsistence stores, being compelled to send to Savannah for a quantity and keep one division awaiting the return of the boat. His entire command reached the South Carolina Railroad at the point ordered on the 12th of February. The railroad was thoroughly and effectually destroyed from Johnson's Station to Williston by the Fourteenth Corps, and from Williston to Graham's Station by the Twentieth Corps. On the 11th of February Geary's and Jackson's divisions crossed the South Edisto at Duncan's Bridge, and encamped on the north side. Ward rebuilt Guignard's Bridge, crossed at that point and rejoined the corps on the north side. On the 12th the Twentieth Corps reached the North Edisto. The enemy had destroyed the bridge and taken position on the north side with two pieces of artillery. He was soon driven away with a loss to us of three killed and ten wounded. The bridge was rebuilt during the night by the First Michigan Engineers, Colonel Yates commanding, and on the following morning the march was resumed toward Lexington.

The Fourteenth Corps crossed the South Edisto on the 13th of February, at Guignard's Bridge, and the North Edisto on the following day at Horsey's Bridge. On the evening of the 15th of February both corps were concentrated within two miles of Lexington. On the morning of the 16th both corps moved toward Columbia, the Fourteenth by way of the Lexington road, and the Twentieth on a road to the right of the one taken by the Fourteenth Corps. When the heads of the two columns were within three miles of Columbia, I received orders from General Sherman to cross the Saluda River at Mount Zion Church, and push on to Winnsborough, crossing the Broad River at the same point below Alston. I at once ordered the Twentieth Corps into camp and moved the Fourteenth to Mount Zion Church, where a bridge was constructed and one division of the Fourteenth Corps crossed during the night. The other two divisions followed on the morning of the 17th, and moved forward to the Broad

River near the Wateree Creek. The cavalry followed the Fourteenth Corps and moved to our left, the Twentieth Corps crossing immediately after the cavalry. A pontoon bridge was constructed across the Broad River, near the mouth of Wateree Crek, at a place known as Freshly's Mills. My entire command was across the Broad River before 2 p. m. on the 20th of February, and on the following morning both corps moved forward to Winnsborough, which we occupied without opposition. Before our columns reached the town several buildings had been burned, but by the exertions of our soldiers, assisted by the citizens, the fire was prevented from spreading. The Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad was destroyed from Winnsborough to White Oak by the Twentieth Army Corps, and from White Oak to Cornwall by the Fourteenth Army Corps. On the 22nd Ward's division of the Twentieth Corps was moved rapidly forward to Catawba River at a point known as Rocky Mount Ferry. A pontoon bridge was at once constructed at this point, and on the 23rd the Twentieth Corps commenced crossing. The river banks on both sides were very precipitous. Unfortunately soon after our arrival at the river a heavy fall of rain made the crossing still more difficult and endangered our bridge.

The Twentieth Corps, together with all the cavalry and one division of the Fourteenth Corps, succeeded in crossing under great difficulties, when our bridge was swept away by floodwood brought down by the freshet. The Twentieth Corps, from the 23rd to the 26th, only succeeded in reaching Hanging Rock, a point sixteen miles distant from the river, having been compelled to corduroy the road nearly the whole distance. I accompanied this corps on its march, and at this point first learned of the destruction of our bridge. The Twentieth Corps was ordered to remain in camp at Hanging Rock on the 27th, and I returned to the Catawba to expedite, if possible, the crossing of the Fourteenth Corps. On my arrival here I found that General Davis and his officers were fully impressed with the importance of effecting a crossing with the least possible delay, and were laboring incessantly to accomplish the work. On my arrival it was impossible to communicate with the troops on the opposite bank. A pontoon boat, manned by the best oarsmen of the train, in attempting to cross was swept far below the point at which the bridge was to be constructed, and the men narrowly escaped drowning. Fortunately the water commenced falling, and during the night of the 27th the bridge was again in position and the troops and trains at once moved across. General Davis was ordered to move direct to Sneedsborough by way of McManus Bridge and Mount Croghan, and if possible to reach that point simultaneously with the Twentieth Corps, which had been ordered to move to the same point by way of Chesterfield.

Every possible effort was made to accomplish this result. General Davis marched his command from daylight until late at night each day, and reached the point designated on the 4th of March. The Twentieth Corps crossed Big Lynch's Creek at Miller's Bridge and advanced to-

ward Chesterfield. On approaching the town a few of the enemy's cavalry were met and driven rapidly through the town and over Thompson's Creek. On the 4th of March the corps reached a point near Sneedsborough. A bridge was constructed over the Great Pedee at a point three miles below Sneedsborough, and the Fourteenth Corps crossed at that point. In order to gain time the Twentieth Corps was sent to Cheraw to cross at that point, with instructions to move at once to McFarland's Bridge over Lumber River. The Fourteenth Corps moved to Love's or Blue's Bridge, a few miles above. McFarland's Bridge was destroyed two or three days before General Williams reached the river, but General Davis found Blue's Bridge but slightly injured, and crossed one division over it on the evening of the 8th of March. On the following day the Fourteenth Corps moved on on the plank road to a point about sixteen miles from Fayetteville. On the 10th this corps moved to the Nine-mile Post and was massed near that point, one brigade of Baird's division being thrown well in advance on the road toward Fayetteville. On the 11th at 10.30 A. M., Baird's division after some slight skirmishing with the enemy entered Fayetteville, the other two divisions and the entire Twentieth Corps encamping near the town. General Baird was directed to take command of the city and garrison it with his command. He was instructed to destroy all public and private property useful to the enemy, but to protect all other private property. The duties imposed upon him were all performed in a satisfactory manner. He destroyed under these orders 2 foundries, 4 factories, and considerable railroad property.

On the 13th and 14th of March both corps crossed the Cape Fear River, encamping on the road leading toward Averysborough. On leaving Fayetteville I was informed that Goldsborough was our next objective point, and was instructed by the commanding general to move with a strong column, unencumbered by wagons, on a road by way of Averysborough and Bentonville, sending my wagons by a road to the right of the one taken by my light column. I accordingly ordered two divisions of each corps to move, with only such wagons as were absolutely necessary, on the road to Averysborough, while the remaining divisions of each corps with the trains were sent on the direct road to Cox's Bridge. On the night of the 15th the four divisions, Jackson's and Ward's of the Twentieth Corps and Morgan's and Carlin's of the Fourteenth, encamped near Taylor's Hole Creek. Hawley's brigade of Jackson's division, was sent forward late in the evening to support the cavalry. On the 16th the enemy was discovered intrenched about one mile and a half from the point at which the road to Bentonville branches off from the Smithfield and Raleigh road. Hawley's brigade commenced skirmishing with them at an early hour. The roads were almost impassable, and it was nearly ten o'clock before other troops could reach the field. As soon as Ward's division came up it was thrown to the left of the road, its right connecting with Hawley's left. As the two remaining brigades of Jackson's division came up they relieved the cavalry, which moved to the right of our line.

Selfridge met the enemy as he moved into position and drove him back into his line of works. As soon as the troops were posted (the artillery occupying a position commanding a good view of the enemy's line) I ordered Case's brigade, which was on the left of our line, to advance and, if possible, turn the enemy's line. This be accomplished in a very handsome manner, and as soon as he was discovered to have accomplished his purpose, and the enemy commenced moving, our artillery did fine execution. The enemy was speedily driven back about one mile to a third line of works, making a brief stand at his second line. He was closely pursued into the works on this new line, but so much delay had been caused by the bad state of the roads that I could not get the troops into position for another attack until it was too late to make the attempt. During the following night the enemy retreated, taking the road through Averysborough.

In this action we captured 3 pieces of artillery, 1 caisson, and several ambulances; also 175 prisoners. We buried on the field 128 of their dead. The loss in the two corps was 66 killed, 441 wounded, and 51 captured and missing. Of the cavalry, 17 killed, 58 wounded, and 3 captured and missing.

All of our troops behaved extremely well. The cavalry under General Kilpatrick exhibited great gallantry and, although the ground was unfavorable for the movement of cavalry, it did excellent service.

On the 17th of March the Fourteenth Corps crossed Black River and encamped near Mingo Creek. The Twentieth Corps encamped near Black River. On the night of the 18th the Fourteenth Corps encamped near Mill Creek, and the Twentieth Corps about five miles in rear of the Fourteenth. On the 19th the march was resumed at 7 A. M., the Fourteenth Corps still in advance. Our advance was stubbornly resisted from the commencement of the march, but one of our cavalry officers came to me while our advance was skirmishing with the enemy and informed me that he had escaped from the enemy only two days before, and that when he left Smithfield he knew the main army under General Johnston to be at or near Raleigh. This statement was confirmed by deserters. I believed the only force in my front to consist of cavalry with a few pieces of artillery, and sent word to this effect to General Sherman. Under this impression I pressed forward rapidly. On reaching the point at which the road from Smithfield runs into the Goldsborough road on which we were marching, I found the enemy intrenched. Carlin's division was at once deployed, Buell's brigade being sent some distance to the left of the road for the purpose of developing the enemy's line. Morgan's division was thrown on the right of Carlin, with two brigades in line and one in reserve. Both Carlin and Morgan were ordered to press the enemy closely and force him to develop his position and strength.

I soon became convinced that I had to deal with something more formidable than a division of cavalry. While still in doubt, however, as to the strength of the enemy, a deserter was brought to me who stated

that he was formerly a Union soldier, had been taken prisoner, and while sick had been induced to enlist in the rebel service. He informed me that General Johnston had, by forced marches, concentrated his army in my front; that it was understood among the rebel soldiers that this force amounted to 40,000 men; that they were told that they were to crush one corps of Sherman's army. He stated that General Johnston had ridden along his line that morning and been loudly cheered by his old Tennessee army. While he was giving me these interesting particulars a member of my staff approached and recognized in this deserter an old acquaintance. They had entered the service in 1861 as private soldiers in the same company. The statements of this man and the developments made by Morgan and Carlin placed me on my guard. I at once concluded to take a defensive position and communicate with the commanding general. Robinson's brigade of the Twentieth Corps had already reached the field and been ordered to support a battery in rear of Buell's position. I had given orders to General Williams to move with the balance of his corps to the right of Morgan with a view of turning the left of the enemy's position. This order was at once countermanded, and Williams was directed to send all of his wagons to the right on the road taken by the Fifteenth Corps, and bring forward with the least possible delay every regiment of his command. All foragers were dismounted and placed in the ranks. Williams was ordered to take position on Morgan's left resting his left flank on a ravine. Not more than one-half of his command was in position, however, when the enemy left his works in strong columns and attacked Buell, driving both him and a portion of Robinson's brigade back, and capturing three pieces of artillery. Before he had reached the line I had designated, however, General Williams had succeeded in getting a sufficient force in position to check his advance. In the meantime Davis had ordered Morgan to refuse the left of his line, and had thrown the reserve brigade on Morgan's division into line of battle on the left of the two brigades of Morgan's division already in line. The connection between Morgan's left and the right of Williams' line not being complete I ordered Coggswell's brigade of the Third Division, Twentieth Corps, which was in reserve, to report to General Davis to enable him to complete the connection between the two corps. This brigade was at once moved forward and filled the gap, giving us a continuous line. The enemy was repulsed at all points along our line, but continued his assaults until a late hour in the evening.

The fighting was most severe in Morgan's front, and too much credit cannot be awarded General Morgan and his command for their conduct upon this occasion. Our artillery was well posted and did excellent execution on the assaulting columns of the enemy. Buell's brigade and the three regiments of Robinson's, which were first driven back, were readily reformed and placed in line, where they did good service. Soon after dark the enemy retired to his works, leaving in our hands a large number of killed and wounded. General Kilpatrick reported to me while I was

placing my troops in position, and was directed to mass his cavalry on my left and rear, which was done at once, and the cavalry occupied this position until the retreat of the enemy. On the following morning Generals Baird and Geary, each with two brigades of their respective divisions, and General Hazen of the Fifteenth Corps with his entire division, arrived on the field. Hazen was moved to the right of Morgan. Baird was moved out in front of our works beyond the advance position held by us on the preceding day. Orders were given to Hazen, Morgan and Baird to press the enemy closely, which was done, Morgan gaining possession of a portion of his line on our right. On the morning of the 21st the Right Wing came up and connected with Hazen. The enemy during this day was forced into his works along the entire line and closely pressed, particularly of his extreme left. During the following night he retreated across Mill Creek, burning the bridges in his rear.

The conduct of our troops on this occasion was most gratifying to me. General Davis and General Williams handled their commands with great skill. After our line was formed the troops without exception met the enemy with coolness and bravery. No ground was lost after the first attack, and all that had been lost in this attack was speedily regained.

On the 22nd, both corps moved to Cox's Brigade, and on the following morning crossed the Neuse at that point and moved into Goldsborough.

My loss during the entire campaign was as follows: Killed, 242; wounded, 1,308; missing, 802; total, 2,352.

For detailed statements as to our losses I respectfully refer to the reports of Brevet Major-General Davis commanding the Fourteenth Corps, and Brevet Major-General A. S. Williams commanding Twentieth Corps. These reports also contain interesting statistics as to the amount of supplies drawn from the country and the amount of property useful to the enemy destroyed by their respective commands.

During this campaign (of the Carolinas) my command has marched about 500 miles, subsisting mainly upon the country and traversing a region which the enemy regarded inaccessible to us on account of the natural obstacles presented to the march of a large army. These obstacles were but little overrated by them, but by the indomitable perseverance and energy of our troops all were overcome.

I have not attempted in this report to enter into such details as to the labors and privations endured by the troops as justice to them really demands, but the brief period allowed me for this work must be my excuse.

I have witnessed on the campaign, scenes which have given me a more exalted opinion than I ever before entertained of the earnest patriotism which actuates the soldiers of this army. I have repeatedly seen soldiers of my command, who were making parched corn supply the place of bread, and who were nearly destitute of shoes or change of clothing, go cheerfully to their labor in the swamps of South Carolina, working hour after hour in the mud and water to bring forward our immense trains, and

yet during all these privations and hardships I have never heard from an officer or soldier one word of complaint.

To the members of my staff—Maj. Robert P. Dechert, acting assistant adjutant-general; Maj. E. W. Guindon, Capt. William W. Moseley, and Capt. William G. Tracy, aides-de-camp; Capt. P. M. Thorne, acting chief of ordnance, and Lieutenants H. W. Howgate, and Joseph Benson Foraker of the signal corps—I am greatly indebted. All have discharged their duties to my entire satisfaction.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General, Commanding.

Maj. L. M. DAYTON,
Assistant Adjutant-General, Mil. Div. of the Mississippi.[104]

During the Campaign of the Carolinas the Union forces, under Generals Slocum and Howard, captured about 4,500 Confederate prisoners in addition to those paroled at the time of the capture, not counting the wounded, the refugees, and the deserters from the enemy in this list. The enemy reported about 2,000 Union prisoners captured by them during this Campaign, without mentioning the details given above. Many of these Union prisoners were recovered from their captors during the march.

Remarkably full record was kept of the supplies gathered along the route of march by the different thoroughly organized foraging parties. These parties were under thorough discipline, excepting possibly a few occasional temporary stragglers. All had definite orders from General Slocum to demean themselves as true soldiers, and to be gentlemanly in their dealings with people and property—but the army must be fed and, probably, most of the foragers felt like the one who was chasing chickens in front of a house and was interrupted by the loud talk and threats of the women. He replied: "Can't help it, ladies; the rebellion must be stopped if it takes every chicken in Georgia."

CHAPTER XLVIII

The Confederate Armies Surrendered. The War Ended

Many of General Slocum's officers, from the highest including the lowest, now received higher rank commissions upon his recommendations. Those heretofore with brevet were advanced to full grade at least. Abstract of the organization of the United States forces in Slocum's Army of Georgia March 31, showed there had been several changes, including accessions, during the few days they had been in camp at Goldsborough. The summing was as follows: Pontoniers, Downey commanding, 25 officers and 431 enlisted men present for duty; XIVth Army Corps, Major-General Jefferson C. Davis commanding, 519 officers and 12,792 men; XXth Army Corps, Major-General Alpheus S. Williams, commanding, 662 officers and 12,182 men. Total number present ready for duty, 1,210 officers, and 25,405 enlisted men. Present, wounded and sick unfit for duty, 4,886. Slocum's artillery at this time numbered thirty cannon. His command April 30th numbered about thirty thousand ready for duty.

On the 2nd of April General Slocum in accordance with the new reports announced to his command the following reappointments and additions to his staff: Major J. A. Reynolds, 1st New York Artillery, chief of artillery; Captain H. M. Whittelsey, U. S. Volunteers, acting chief quartermaster; Surgeon H. E. Goodman, U. S. Volunteers, medical director; Captain Platt M. Thorne, 150th New York Volunteers, acting assistant inspector general.

While at Goldsborough report was received, April 6th, of the enemy's evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg on the 3rd, and great joy was exhibited throughout the army. Particulars of the Confederate General R. E. Lee's disastrous retreat, and of his probably early surrender to General Grant, were received the 8th, and the army gave regular artillery salutes, and the soldiers extemporized all sorts of demonstrations of their joyfulness.

On the 9th of April General Slocum announced Captain R. M. McDowell, 141st New York Volunteers, member of his staff as chief topographical engineer.

Now, that Grant's work with Lee was finished, only Joseph E. Johnston and his command remained in this latitude of the East for Sherman to capture. Monday, April 10th, the forward march was resumed, General Slocum taking the direct road to Smithfield near which place the enemy was supposed to be. Slocum moved in two columns, with Howard on the road to Pikeville at the north, and Schofield's Army of the Ohio on roads to Slocum's left marching in echelon near Kilpatrick and his cavalry. Slocum's men advanced despite a continual skirmishing with the enemy who had destroyed the bridge and road at Moccasin Swamp, erected barricades, and posted cannon to oppose Slocum's crossing; but the opposition was soon scattered. Here Slocum's loss was two killed (one Captain) and five wounded. Advance was made without further opposition thereabouts, and the pontooniers laid two bridges across the Neuse River. Slocum's XIVth Corps was the first to enter Smithfield, an old town. Not finding any considerable part of the enemy at Smithfield, and learning that Johnston was at Raleigh with his army, on the 12th the march was continued toward that city.

This day it was learned that Lee had surrendered to Grant. The report was hastily copied, and it was read to the troops as a Special Field Order, including Sherman's expression: "Glory to God and to our Country, and all honor to our comrades in arms toward whom we are marching. A little more labor, and a little more toil on our part, and the great race is won, and our Government stands regenerated after four long years of bloody war." The reading of this paper to the troops standing on the roads, aroused anew their spirits, and revived fresh thoughts of home and of the loved ones there.

Sherman was with Slocum on this march and, late in the afternoon, a car came down the railway under a flag of truce, with a letter from Governor Zebulon B. Vance expressing his desire to end the war at once so far as North Carolina was concerned. The car also bore several former leaders in the secession movement; but they brought no authority from the Confederate Government for a treaty; and Sherman so replied to Vance in a letter which expressed his own desire for peace and

his willingness to contribute what he could to such result. Minor Confederate officers were opposing Vance in his efforts for peace, and they defeated the personal meeting of Sherman and Vance at this time.

The march was continued toward Raleigh, which city Slocum's Army of Georgia was the first to enter April 13th without any opposition just in time to prevent the Confederate Wheeler's cavalry from outraging and pillaging the citizens, as they had here commenced to do, and had been doing in other places during the great march.[115] General Wade Hampton's cavalry had also been continually appearing in front, and much of the time within skirmishing distance. The American flag was soon raised above the capitol building, and was welcomed by many citizens.

Major-General Carl Schurz, formerly commander of a division in the XIth Army Corps under General Howard, had reported from the War Department to General Sherman by whom he was well received, and who referred him to General Slocum while at Goldsborough. There was no vacancy for Schurz in the Army of Georgia, but Slocum received Schurz cordially and, after learning from him his strong desire to be with his army at the end of the war, Slocum offered him the position of his chief of staff which office was thankfully accepted. In a Special Field Order Slocum announced to his army that Captain Montgomery Rochester, U. S. Volunteers, should be recognized as his assistant adjutant general, and 'during the ensuing campaign Major-General Schurz, U. S. Volunteers, will act as chief of staff.'[105] [106]

General Sherman established his headquarters at Raleigh in Governor Vance's mansion according to the request of the Governor, who then left the city. Johnston was, apparently, yet defiant and, April 14th, Sherman issued a special field order for advancing against him and his yet belligerant subordinate officers. General Slocum's army was to move rapidly by the Aven's Ferry Road, through Carthage, Caledonia, and Cox's Mills. Immediately after this order was published, it was countermanded on account of Sherman's "receipt of dispatches from General Johnston, C. S. Army, which are tending to the end of making unnecessary our contemplated long march." Sherman and John-

ston met, and the latter was offered the same terms for ending the war that Lee accepted; but he desired time to consider them.

It was Sherman's intention to review all of his commands before entering upon another campaign, to assure himself of their proper condition for active work; but he highly complimented Slocum's careful attention to business, including discipline, by addressing him a note asking to be excused from making such review of his men.

Slocum's XXth Corps remained near Raleigh until the 25th of April when it was moved to Jones's Cross Roads. He moved his XIVth Corps toward the Cape Fear River April 14th. General Davis was directed to collect forage for his men and animals along the north bank of that river, and that the foragers should treat all the people with civility. Part of this corps crossed the river at Aven's Ferry the next day, and the 16th other parts of the corps including the wagon trains were directed to cross over their pontoon bridge and encamp there. The 19th Slocum directed that this corps be moved to any point of good forage between this river and three miles distant from Raleigh, leaving guard for the bridges.

At his headquarters in Raleigh April 17th, General Sherman issued a special field order announcing the assassination of President Lincoln in the evening of the 14th. This dispatch Sherman carried to Johnston the next day for their appointed meeting. The next day Sherman visited Johnston again, and they then signed a treaty for the surrender of Johnston and all of the Confederate soldiers subject to his command, such treaty to be subject to the approval of General Grant, the War Department at Washington, and of the President, Andrew Johnson. Meanwhile hostilities were to cease until April 26th.

Sherman and Slocum were much together whenever convenient to both and, upon the return of the former the night of the 18th, the latter called at his headquarters where he was shown a copy of the conditional treaty. Sherman was not often inclined to ask the opinion of any one, much less advice but, to the contrary he was generally positively assertive. At the time of this call he was fatigued in both body and mind, and not so talkative. Slocum now did most of the talking, and expressed his doubts of the agreement being approved. In fact his legal

mind saw objections to its approval on account of Sherman having permitted civil questions to be embodied with the military. Returning to his headquarters at midnight he found General Schurz up and waiting anxiously to learn the result of the opposing commanders' last interview. When told the conditions of surrender his opinion coincided with Slocum's, and he also predicted what would follow.[106]

The 19th of April General Sherman issued a special field order announcing cessation of hositilities and, until further orders, the line between Tyrrell's Mount, Chapel Hill, University, Durham Station, and West Point by the Neuse River, would separate the Confederate from the Union armies.

The 20th of April General Sherman received from Lieutenant-General Grant notice of the disapproval of his terms of agreement with General Johnston, by himself, by the War Department, and by President Andrew Johnson. The evening of this day there was a notable meeting of 'a dozen or so' of the leading generals at Sherman's headquarters. The room was large and bare, the officers standing rather together, giving their chief room to continue his pacing back and forth and, without addressing anybody in particular, he unbosomed himself with an eloquence of furious invective which made us all stare. . . . A day or two later General Slocum entered my tent with a happy face, saying 'all is well. Grant is here. He has come to save his friend Sherman from himself.'[106] Readers desiring to learn more regarding this treaty, should consult reference 96 in the Appendix.

General Sherman sent invitation to General Slocum to attend his review of General Howard's XVIIth Army Corps near the Market House in Raleigh April 23rd. This was a compliment well received as the time had been passed in rather monotonous camp duties for some days. The next day it was necessary to place Slocum's XIVth Corps on half rations from the scarce supplies from foraging and by railway. This order was followed after a few hours, however, by an order for this corps to advance to Aven's Ferry, and to begin crossing the river at noon, the 26th. Slocum also ordered his XXth Army Corps to move the 25th in specified order to Jones's Cross Roads. These orders immediately followed General Sherman's announcement

that the truce with the Confederates was at an end, and hostilities would be immediately renewed, General Johnston having been so notified.

In a letter to Stanton, Secretary of War, under date of April 25th, General Sherman admitted his 'folly' in attempting to embrace civil questions with the military in the terms of peace. General Johnston again wrote to Sherman who again visited him hoping to receive his surrender on the Grant-Lee terms; and Slocum again stopped his army. Sherman met Johnston again the 26th at Greensborough, leaving Grant at Raleigh where he had remained in council with Sherman, who had written from Raleigh April 25th to different commanders that he expected Johnston to surrender his army the next day; that they had 'much negotiation, and things are settling down to the terms of General Lee's army.' General Grant telegraphed to the War Department from Raleigh April 26th, that Sherman and Johnston had another interview this day, and Johnston had surrendered on the same terms Lee accepted. Other Confederate commands made haste to lay down their arms, and to give all required evidence of their desire to quit the Rebellion.

General Sherman's special field order announcing to his armies the happy event ending the war east of the Chattahoochee River, was issued from Raleigh April 27th. Readjustments of commands in the Carolinas, and further south, were mentioned. Also permission was given to local commanders for loaning to the inhabitants, farmers, such of the captured horses, mules, and wagons, as could be spared from immediate use; that the commanding generals of armies might issue provisions and any other surplus needful supplies to farmers.

Another special field order the 27th provided for the immediate disposition of the armies in the field. The armies of Generals Slocum and Howard were to march to Richmond, Virginia, in their former respective order; Slocum to pass through Oxford, Boydton, and Nottaway Court House, and Howard to move to the right. Before starting on this march, which might be styled the great triumphal march, as they could have been transported by water to Washington, they turned over to the proper authorities the contents of their ordnance wagons, which wagons were then used by them for food and forage. The chiefs quartermas-

ter and commissary, Generals Easton and Beckwith, were directed to prepare for their rapid travel to Richmond, and there have preparations made for their proper reception, and to provide for their further journey. This same day General Slocum relieved General Schurz from further duty on his staff, and directed him to report to General Sherman who turned him over to General Grant.

General Slocum brought his army together at Raleigh and there the changes were made in their wagons and trains. The infantry retained twenty-five rounds of ammunition per man, and the artillery only one chest for each gun. Slocum's order was for at least fifteen days of subsistence stores for men, and from ten to fifteen days for the horses and mules.

Sherman sent invitation to Slocum to visit him at his headquarters in Raleigh the evening of April 28th, for conference with Howard, Schofield, Logan, and Blair.

CHAPTER XLIX

The Triumphal March to Washington. Farewell

General Slocum started the march in a northerly direction for Richmond at 7 o'clock A. M. April 30th, with his XXth Army Corps in the following order: General Geary's IInd Division leading; next the artillery, and then the IIIrd and Ist Divisions, respectively. The Neuse River was crossed at Manter's Mills, then following the road west of and nearest to the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, passing through the towns of Lemay's and Williamsburg Postoffices, and crossing the Dan River near Haskinton.

His XIVth Army Corps marched on the roads to the left of the XXth Corps, and passed through Kilvin Grove, Wilton, and Oxford to Boydton.

The pontoon trains were divided equally between the two corps. This march was ordered conducted so as to fatigue the troops as little as practicable. The three divisions of each corps were permitted to encamp nights from three to five miles apart as might be convenient, each to march about fifteen miles per day. Foraging was not permitted. Soldiers were forbidden to enter a dwelling house on any pretext. A system of roll call was

established. Any soldier straggling, or found guilty of committing robbery, or any other outrage on citizens along the route of march, was promised summary punishment. Stress was laid upon the fact that, while hostilities had ceased strict military discipline would continue in force, and that every effort of everyone should be made to prevent inclination to lawlessness, dishonesty, and every act likely to bring disgrace or even a shadow of reflection upon commands which had such uniformly good record in the service of their country, and for their country's honor. For all purchases by the way immediate payment was ordered, and the march was enjoined to proceed as strictly as it would in any loyal State in the Union. The location of the headquarters of General Slocum and of each of his corps commanders was not definitely announced for the night encampments to any one but the provost guards.

General Slocum's XIVth Corps also started from Raleigh for Richmond April 30th in the following order: General Baird's IIIrd Division to lead on the most direct road to Oxford with the pontoon train in advance of the other trains, to construct bridge over the Neuse River; then the artillery; then General Charles C. Walcutt's Ist Division and, the next morning, General Morgan's IInd Division. Day by day changes, and shiftings of divisions and brigades were necessary to meet the changing conditions, all of which had become thoroughly well known to these conquering veteran volunteer soldiers, and their ever alert officers, from Slocum the commanding general down through all of the numerous subordinates necessary for a large army.

The Dan, or Roanoke, River at Taylor's Ferry was found by the XIVth Corps to be at least 750 feet in width with an average depth of ten feet. It was necessary to extend the pontoon train by trestle-work May 2nd, which extension was completed near midday the 3rd. On account of this favorable crossing the XXth Corps was deflected from its intended crossing at Haskin's Ferry to Taylor's Ferry where two divisions were able to cross in the night of May 3rd on their own pontoon bridge and the XIVth Corps' trestle this corps having removed its pontoon and continued the march with it. The advance columns took up the march at daybreak and the others followed systematically

according to orders issued the evening before. Ambulances were distributed throughout each corps of the army so that the sick, and weaker, soldiers could ride; and so every detail of full discipline and provision for comfort prevailed.

The commander of the Military Department of North Carolina, Major-General John M. Schofield, and Major-General Halleck at Washington, yet Chief of Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant's staff, were kept informed day by day, and night by night, of the whereabouts and condition of Slocum's and Howard's armies, so that no vigilance for continued peace, or war, was permitted to relax.

The 5th of May General Slocum's cipher telegraph operator, D. F. Berry, dispatched to Major T. T. Eckert at Washington, the position of the Army of Georgia as at and near Blacks and Whites Station on line of South Side and Petersburg Railroad that night; and that it would be in or near Richmond the next night. General Slocum also kept in communication with the Union authorities in Richmond. Close surveillance was kept of supposed designing malcontents everywhere, and orders for arrests were frequently received and fulfilled.

The 5th of May General Slocum notified the Union commanding officer of Richmond of his near approach, and requested that supplies be ready for the continuation of his march toward Washington. At the close of this day General Morgan reported that his IInd Division of the XIVth Corps had marched 27 miles the 4th on rough and heavy roads from the rain. Slocum's staff, with his corps' staff officers, were now carefully observing the country opposite Richmond for desirable fields in which to establish encampments for their respective commands about three miles from Manchester across the James River from Richmond, the evening of May 6th and 7th, upon their arrival. During the time of this encampment no soldier was permitted to visit Manchester without a pass signed by his division commander, or to visit Richmond without pass signed by his corps commander, for reasons obvious to the average reader. The evening of May 8th the XXth Corps encamped at Falling Creek, near the encampment of the XIVth Corps, after a march of 21 miles that day. They remained here until the day of their passing through and leaving Richmond. General Slocum secured comfortable

headquarters in the residence of a Mr. Wren near the edge of Manchester to the left of Hull Street.

It had been contemplated to send the Army of Georgia, at least, from Richmond to Washington by water transports, as at first thought to send them from Raleigh; but later counsels prevailed for the march from Richmond also. On account of the large trains, the difficulties attending the transportation by water, and the sentiment attending another look over the battlefields of Virginia, the decision for marching was well received by the soldiers and officers alike.

Major-General H. W. Halleck, Chief of Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant's staff, very kindly met Generals Slocum and Howard's commands at Richmond and helped to facilitate the refilling of their wagon trains for their final march. Undoubtedly Halleck had in mind also the pleasure of meeting with General Sherman and of renewing the friendship between them that had been estranged by the latter's opinion that Halleck had been too officious against the first agreement regarding the surrender of Johnston. Halleck was now certainly courteous, and desirous of good will. May 8th he dispatched to Sherman, then at Fort Monroe, that: "General Slocum's army will leave Richmond on the morning of the 10th, and General Howard's will soon follow. Can't you meet them as they pass through? When you arrive here come directly to my headquarters. I have a room for you, and will have rooms elsewhere for your staff." Ill will yet brooded in Sherman's heart, and he replied: "After your dispatch to the Secretary of War of April 26, I cannot have any friendly intercourse with you. I will come to City Point tomorrow and march with my troops, and I prefer we should not meet."[107] There was some delay in Sherman's arrival, and he telegraphed to Slocum not to start on his march the 10th. But Sherman was with Slocum the 10th, and there he replied to Grant's order from Washington for the march, that Slocum's army would march the 11th, and Howard's the next day. This was another thrust at Halleck.

The orders for the march of the Army of Georgia May 11th at 7 A. M. were issued by General Slocum the 10th. The XIVth Army Corps led across the pontoon bridge over the James River, and through Richmond without the contemplated review of Gen-

eral Halleck, who had in the meantime received from Sherman a remarkabe letter including the statement that he would best keep out of sight as violence might be done him.[108]

The course of march from Richmond, as outlined by General Slocum's special field orders, led through the towns of Hanover Court House, Oxford, and Chilesburg to a point near Chestnut Hill; thence by the most direct route to Rappahannock Station by the Rappahannock River; thence through New Baltimore, Hay Market, Centerville, and Fairfax Court House. General Slocum also informed his army that he would accompany the XIVth Corps as far as Hanover Court House, and the XXth Corps thence to Alexandria. Many details requiring thought and proper action were again necessary to preserve sanitary places for the night camps, as much of the country had been overrun and encamped upon by large bodies of troops during the previous four years. Great and continual effort was necessary to prevent one part of the army obstructing the advance of other parts which were to take the advance the next morning. Many incidents, if not accidents, occurred to interfere with the desired regularity. One part of a command must at times be hastened to make room for unexpected emergency; also to let the men of certain commands rest part of the day from having been compelled to work all the previous night in bridging or crossing a river made dangerous by flood. In times of peacefulness on the march an army is liable at any moment to need the watchful eye and the ready action of the commanding general who has surveillance over all parts.

General Howard was called to Washington in advance of his army for the purpose of entering upon other work for the War Department. General Sherman marched with General Slocum to Hanover Court House where he wrote to General John A. Logan, successor to Howard, one of his remarkable letters. It began with the information that it had been his (Sherman's) purpose to join Logan's column here and to travel with it by way of Fredericksburg but, being anxious to see the ground about Spottsylvania Court House, and Chancellorsville with Slocum, he would accompany Slocum that far and then pass over to Logan's command. After giving directions for the conduct of the march of the Right Wing, that it might not obstruct Slo-

cum's roads, he advised a slow march and a continued good condition of the men by keeping them long on the road, as far better than a long rest in camp at the end of the journey. Then Sherman proceeded in his letter to again express his animosity toward General Halleck and some other eastern men. He wrote in part that: "The manner of our welcome [at Richmond] was a part of a grand game to insult us—us who had marched a thousand miles through a hostile country in midwinter to help them. We did help them, and what has been our reward? Our men were denied admission to the city where Halleck had invited all citizens (rebels of course) to come and go without passes. If the American people sanction this kind of courtesy to old and tried troops, where is the honor, satisfaction, and glory of serving them in constancy and faith? If such be the welcome the East gives to the West, we can but let them make war and fight it out themselves. I know where is a land and people that will not treat us thus—the West, the Valley of the Mississippi. I for one will go there."

When he arrived at Fredericksburg, May 15th, Sherman reported to Grant at Washington, that he had parted from Slocum at noon that day at Chancellorsville, who would cross his XIVth Corps over the Rappahannock River the next day at Raccoon Ford and his XXth Corps the same time at the United States Ford. He further reported that Logan had not arrived with Howard's army on account of the roads having been badly worked up by Meade's Army of the Potomac which had preceded him.

Major-General Slocum preceded his Army of Georgia to Alexandria, Virginia, whence he reported to General Grant and his armies in Washington, giving his headquarters' address as two miles from Alexandria by the direct road to Washington. He also sent orders to General Davis of his XIVth Corps not to approach nearer than Cloud's Mills that night, and to send a staff officer to Cloud's Mills the next morning to meet Lieutenant-Colonel Guindon of General Slocum's staff for assignment of camping sites in which to await the Grand Review of the different armies that were assembling thereabout. The XXth Corps was intercepted the 19th on its march from Fairfax Station for like purpose.

Special orders for the Review were issued by General Grant the 18th; and the 20th General Sherman issued his special orders to the officers of his armies to be ready for the Review the next Wednesday, May 24th. This necessitated active work for all concerned. General Slocum's special orders Number 72 supplemented those of Generals Sherman and Grant in details regarding his own command. The Army of Georgia was to gather near the Long Bridge across the Potomac River, opposite Washington, and march from there at daybreak Wednesday, the morning of the review, the XXth Corps leading, followed by the XIVth Corps, without knapsacks but with two days' cooked rations in haversacks. They were to move across the bridge and to the vicinity of the Capitol building, and there to await the signal gun to begin the march around this building, up Pennsylvania Avenue, passing the reviewing stand of President Johnston which contained the members of his cabinet, Lieutenant-General Grant and his staff, Members of the United States Congress, foreign diplomats, and other dignitaries.

General Sherman exhibited much just pride in riding at the head of his armies and he took post near the chief reviewing officer on arriving at his stand. The commanders of each army, corps, and division each attended by one staff officer, dismounted from their horses after passing the general-in-chief, Grant, joined him while his own command was passing, then remounted and rejoined his command. Officers commanding regiments and above, carried their swords in a present position when passing the reviewing officer; company officers gave no salute. Brigade bands and consolidated field music joined the parade and discoursed while each was passing the stand, the drummers giving three ruffles while moving. The flags of each battalion were given the dropping salute to the reviewing officers. Six ambulances, three abreast, were in line with each brigade.

After passing the reviewing stand, near the Presidential Mansion, each command continued the march to the place assigned for its encampment, which had previously been carefully chosen. General Sherman had rooms at Mrs. Carter's home on Capitol Hill, with business headquarters in tent on grounds of the Finley Hospital. General Slocum had rooms for himself and family, who came from their home in Syracuse to be with

him here, at the Metropolitan Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue. His headquarters and staff were about one mile eastward by the Bladenburg Road passing north of Finley Hospital; and his Army of Georgia was encamped further to the northeast near Hoover's farm, and all within a distance of two miles of General Slocum's headquarters.

It was deemed necessary by General Grant May 27th to address General Sherman a note regarding some wordy demonstrations of Sherman's soldiers (without specifying whether of Slocum's or Howard's, now Logan's, command) against General Halleck while they were under the influence of strong drink in Washington; and Grant suggested to Sherman more careful guardings, and issuing of passes for visits to the city. Here was an unfortunate echo of the unwise criticisms of his superior officer by Sherman before the general soldiery of his commands at different times.

It was now the general effort to get all of the many thousands of soldiers now in and near Washington reorganized, assigned for further service, and forwarded to different parts of the country where this service was to be rendered. Also to muster out of service those whose terms of enlistment were about to expire, and those volunteers who from good cause desired to retire from army life, which number, fortunately, was by far the greater of the two. It was announced by M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster-General, that 5,000 men for any destination, were as many as should go together. Ten thousand per day could be taken to Relay House, and there sent in different directions.

General Slocum settled down to this earnest work at his headquarters. Discontinuance of the signal service in his army had separated his signal officers, but he called Lieutenant J. B. Foraker (now brevetted Captain on Slocum's recommendation for his satisfactory service during the Battle of Bentonville) and he was again of great service, now with his facile pen. Other men were yet with General Slocum's command who were destined to do as good work in the civil service of their country as they had done good service during this historic march, and before on the field of battle, namely: Major-General John W. Geary, later Governor of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Harrison, now Brevet Brigadier-General Ist Brigade IIIrd Division XXth Corps, later

President of the United States; Major-General Alpheus S. Williams, commanding XXth Corps; Major-General Jefferson C. Davis, commanding XIVth Corps; Major-General Joseph A. Mower, who now succeeded to the command of the XXth Corps; Brevet Major-Generals George S. Greene, C. C. Walcutt, James D. Morgan, and William T. Ward; also a commendable list of Brevet Brigadier-Generals; George P. Buell, Harrison C. Hobart, J. G. Mitchell, B. D. Fearing, William Vanderver, Absalom Baird, Alexander C. McClurg, later at the head of the large publishing house bearing his name in Chicago, Daniel Dustin, and many others of like strong and worthy character.

Thorough and general discipline was maintained by General Slocum in this last encampment of the Army of Georgia near Washington. Roll calls, dress parades, and formal guard mountings were enforced daily, and all soldiers were required to keep within the limits of their division encampment. Those permitted to visit Washington with card, were limited in number to five per cent. of those present.

Announcement was made by General Slocum May 30th, that such progress had been made with the muster out and rolls of discharges, that actual mustering out of military service would begin this day; and Sherman gave notice that regiments would begin their return to their respective homes the next day at the rate of about 7,000 per day; and within ten days all members of his armies should be on their way home or to their new camps of rendezvous for continued service.

After consultation, and much consideration, General Grant wrote to the Secretary of War recommending discontinuance of the Army of Georgia inasmuch as it had completed its work as such, and he further recommended the transference of all the veteran troops of it not now discharged, to the Army of the Tennessee. Preparatory to entering upon this plan General Slocum issued his Special Orders Number 84, June 4th, transferring certain officers and regiments of his XXth Army Corps to his XIVth Corps, and certain officers and regiments of his XIVth to his XXth Corps, and directing other officers to report to other headquarters for assignment to future service. His work now being completed with this organization, his farewell address was forthcoming, namely:

GENERAL O. O. HOWARD. GENERAL WM. B. HAZEN. GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN. GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN. GENERAL JEFF. C. DAVIS. GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM. GENERAL J. A. MOWER.

Gaunt from the March of 1,000 Miles Through the Heart of the Confederacy

General Orders,) HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF GEORGIA,
No. 15.) Washington, D. C., June 6, 1865.

With the separation of the troops composing this army, in compliance with recent orders, the organization known as the Army of Georgia will virtually cease to exist. Many of you will at once return to your homes. No one now serving as a volunteer will probably be retained in the service against his will but a short time longer. All will soon be permitted to return and receive the rewards due them as the gallant defenders of their country. While I cannot repress a feeling of sadness at parting with you, I congratulate you upon the grand results achieved by your valor, fidelity, and patriotism. No generation has ever done more for the permanent establishment of a just and liberal form of government, more for the honor of their nation, than has been done during the past four years by the armies of the United States and the patriotic people at home who have poured out their wealth in support of these armies with a liberality never before witnessed in any country. Do not forget the parting advice of that great chieftain (Sherman) who led you through your recent brilliant campaign: 'As in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace be good citizens.' Should you ever desire to resume the honored profession you are now about to leave, do not forget that this profession is honorable only when followed in obedience to the orders of the constituted authority of your government. With feelings of deep gratitude to each and all of you for your uniform soldierly conduct, for the patience and fortitude with which you have borne all the hardships it has been necessary to impose upon you, and for the unflinching resolution with which you have sustained the holy cause in which we have been engaged, I bid you farewell.

H. W. SLOCUM,
Major-General, Commanding.[110]

On the 9th of June the Ist Division of the XIVth Army Corps started from Washington by railway trains for Louisville, Kentucky, and further south. Different parts of this and the XXth Corps were at this time already at their homes or nearly there with their honorable discharge papers. This day General Slocum was granted twenty days leave of absence by the War Department, and he accompanied his family to their home in Syracuse, New York, where he received a rousing and joyful welcome.

Although scattered after General Slocum's farewell address, the Army of Georgia was not fully and formally dissolved until June 17th when the War Department in its General Orders Number 117 transferred all of its undischarged men to the Army of the Tennessee, thus completing the record at Washington.

CHAPTER L

Commands Department of Mississippi. Resignation

By formal orders of President Andrew Johnson and the Secretary of War, June 24th, General Slocum was notified that he was assigned to the command of the Department of Mississippi, with headquarters at Vicksburg. This was more than double the territory and responsibility of his former command of the District of Vicksburg. June 27th the War Department issued its General Orders Number 118, dividing the United States anew into military divisions and departments. Much thought had been given to this work by Lieutenant-General Grant, the Secretary of War, and their advisers.

General Sherman was returned to the southwest as he desired to be, with headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri.

It was a great compliment to General Slocum to be returned to Vicksburg with extended territory and increased powers. But he did not seek the place. He did not want to return to the South. He preferred to leave the military service now that the war was practically ended and the Union preserved in all its integrity, if the laws could be enforced. However, he realized that he had done much good in Mississippi before being imperiously called to aid Sherman in the Chattanooga-Atlanta Campaign; and he recognized the great compliments of General Grant regarding his work at that time and, also at this time in insisting upon his return to Mississippi to continue the work of instituting, or continuing, that law and order that should prevail throughout the land, and which was there formerly so well begun by him. It had not been, in any way, characteristic of Slocum to shun danger or responsibility, and now it was not his desire to shun any assistance that he could give to the new administration in the delicate, and possibly unpleasant, work before it in inaugurating much of a new and possibly difficult regime in one of the great and haughty States of the South which, though its strongest armies had laid, or were about to lay, down their arms, there was an open boast that the South was yet unconquered. General Slocum accepted the assignment, and soon reported to the War Department in person as ready for duty.

General Slocum proceeded to Mississippi, met the prominent

officers there, military and civil, with whom he would have to deal and, after considering the entire field, its conditions and needs, he issued his General Orders Number One, dated Vicksburg, Mississippi, July 14th. It announced to the United States soldiers, and the citizens of the State, his authority for coming to them, and named the members of his staff that they might be known and respected accordingly, namely: Captain J. Warren Miller, assistant adjutant-general; Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Eugene W. Guindon, Captain and Brevet Major William W. Moseley, and Captain and Brevet Major William G. Tracy, aides-de-camp.

In his General Orders Number Two, July 17th, General Slocum announced his military divisions of the State, namely: The Western District of Mississippi, embracing the counties of Bolivar, Sunflower, Washington, Yazoo, Issaquena, and Warren, with his assignment of Brigadier-General Jasper A. Maltby to its command with headquarters at Vicksburg; The Southern District, embracing that part of the State south of the northern line of the counties Claiborne, Copiah, Lawrence, Covington, Jones and Wayne, with Brevet Major-General John W. Davidson commander with headquarters at Natchez; and the Northern District, embracing the part of the State not included in the Western and Southern Districts with Major-General Peter J. Osterhaus as commander with headquarters at Jackson. The Northern and Southern Districts were designated as 'Divisions' and the Western District as a 'Separate Brigade' in the sense implied in the War Department's General Orders Number 251, Series of 1864, to enable the commanding officer to convene general courts-martial when necessary.

By General Orders Number 130 of the War Department July 28th, Generals Osterhaus, Manning, Force, Ewing, and Davidson, were ordered to report to General Slocum at Vicksburg for assignment duty.

The Special Orders Number Four, July 21st, of General Slocum, transferred the 66th Regiment of Colored Infantry from the Western to the Southern District of Mississippi, and it there reported to Brevet Major-General Davidson at Natchez. The quartermaster's department was ordered to furnish means of transportation.

Announcement of further appointments on General Slocum's staff was made this day, namely: Colonel Henry M. Whittelsey, as chief quartermaster; Colonel Samuel H. Sturdevant chief commissary of subsistence; Colonel Van E. Young, 49th United States Colored Infantry, provost marshal-general; Lieutenant-Colonel George S. Kemble, surgeon of volunteers, medical director; Captain George A. Williams, Ist United States Infantry, chief mustering officer; Captain James H. Landers, 8th New Hampshire Veteran Infantry, assistant commissary of musters; Captain Samuel Caldwell, 8th Illinois Veteran Infantry, judge-advocate.

By order of the War Department August 14th, there was a reduction of the number of white United States troops by the following named discharges: in Virginia 5,000; the Middle Division 6,000; Washington, District of Columbia, 8,000; Kentucky 5,000; North Carolina 8,000; in Slocum's Department of Mississippi 2,000. Up to August 22nd white Union troops had been mustered out of service to the number of 719,338.[111] This was getting down to a dangerous basis of colored troops, in the State of Mississippi particularly without thoughtful and prudent generalship.

The emancipation of the slaves had been broadly considered throughout the North, and in other countries, England particularly, as a distinct moral result of the war; but the later acts of President Johnson, a Southern man, made him open to severe criticism by the Congress and the general sense of the Northern people; while those of the South had become highly elated and emboldened by Johnson's proclamations of pardon and amnesty; also with some of his appointments of provisional governors.

At this juncture influences were brought to bear upon the President for the appointment of General Carl Schurz to make a tour through the South for observation of the condition of affairs generally. Schurz started early in July, and he passed three months in travel and in interviewing all classes of people. He found them all unable, or unwilling, to look upon or to deal with the colored people other than as slaves. Wherever these people began to assert their freedom, or to object to the extreme dictations of the former regime, they were maltreated in various

ways. The work of the Freedman's Bureau was nullified by word and deed as far as possible. He found the sentiment 'overpowered, but not conquered' lauded as chivalorus by the newspapers, women, young people, and clergymen; in fact by practically all of those who had not been in the army, as well as by many who had been soldiers. The pernicious effects of this sentiment were seen everywhere, making it difficult in some districts for the United States military officers to maintain peace. Some citizens who had been known to express Union sentiments in the past, were now driven from their homes. "If there were some optimists regarding the proposed new order of things, there were far more pessimists of the cynical kind. . . . It was the sincere desire of the United States Government, including the military officers and soldiers, to hasten the self-governing condition of every part of each of the Southern States, although many things occurred to largely defeat the intended good result."[106]

It was part of the plan of General Schurz to visit all of the prominent military commanders. As early as practicable he called on General Slocum at Vicksburg and he there received a cordial welcome. He found Slocum pondering over a most important, and complicated question. The military forces of Mississippi, or many of them, desired to retain their organization in order to 'keep peace with the obstinate niggers.' They had raided different bands of negroes who were not readily coerced to accept the desires of the soldiers along the antebellum line of coercion. To this conduct of affairs, as a matter of course, General Slocum objected. The provisional governor, William L. Sharkey, favored the continuance of the State Militia to keep in favor with the popular sentiment; while the United States Colored troops saw serious result in such continuance. In this last opinion General Slocum warmly concurred; and he issued an order for the disbandment of the Mississippians. General Schurz readily and fully accorded with General Slocum's view and action regarding this question, and he so reported to President Johnson. The reply from Johnson was that General Slocum should not have issued such order. Governor Sharkey had, upon further consideration, given up his acquiescence for a State Militia as an experiment too dangerous to continue, thus placing himself in harmony with General Slocum's action.

Upwards of 200,000 negro troops had been gathered into the United States service. The number of these remaining in Mississippi in 1865 was but 1,412.[112]

His warm friend Sherman no longer had control of Slocum's department; but there was a regular private correspondence between them. In Slocum's letter about this time he foreshadowed his resignation from the military service, and he inclosed a copy of his order against the organization of the Mississippi Militia at this time. His letter reads as follows:

Headquarters Department of Mississippi,
Vicksburg, Miss., August 27, 1865.

My Dear General:

Your favor of the twenty-second has just come to hand. I came here without my family with the intention of remaining only until the surplus generals were mustered out. I did not like to go out with a crowd of worthless officers who should have been mustered out long ago; but I think ———— and Company will outlive me after all, as I do not intend to spend the winter here. I shall pay you a visit on my way home.

Force has reported and been assigned to the command of the Vicksburg District, relieving Maltby. Force is a good officer and I am glad to get him. Charley Ewing has not yet come.

Woods has been very sick at Mobile but is better. I have met many of your old officers and soldiers since we parted, and all of them, without exception, are 'loyal.'

I inclose an order just published. I did not like to take this step; but Sharkey should have consulted me before issuing an order arming the rebs, and placing them on duty with the darkies in every county of the State. I hope the United States Military will soon be removed from the State, but until this is done it would certainly be bad policy to arm the militia.

Yours truly,
H. W. SLOCUM.

Maj. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

The reply to this letter was prompt, and is here shown:

Headquarters Military Division of the Mississippi,
St. Louis, Mo., September 7, 1865.

Dear Slocum:

I have just received your letter of August twenty-seventh. Since I wrote you, Charley Ewing has gone down, and must now be with you. I have read all your orders and of course approve beforehand, as you, on the spot, are the competent judge. Sooner or later the people South must resume the management of their own affairs, even if they *felo-de-se*; for the North cannot long afford to keep armies here for local police. Still

as long as you do have the force, and the State none, you must of necessity control. My own opinion is that self interest will soon induce the present people of Mississippi to invite and encourage a kind of emigration that will, like in Maryland and Missouri, change the whole opinion. They certainly will not again tempt the resistance of the United States; nor will they ever reinstate the negro. The only question is when will the change occur.

I agree with you that if you see your way ahead in civil life, it is to your permanent interest to resign; it don't make much difference when. You have all the military fame you can expect in this epoch. All know your rank and appreciate you, and I would not submit to the scrambling for position next winter if I were in your place, unless you have resolved to stay in the army for life.

I shall be delighted to meet you as you come up. I am now boarding at the Lindell Hotel, but expect to go to housekeeping in a few days on Garrison Avenue, near Franklin avenue, a fine property, presented to me, on the outskirts of the city, where I shall be delighted to receive you. My office is on Walnut Street, between five and six, near the Southern Hotel.

Always your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

General Slocum was offered high rank in the United States Regular Army during his lifetime. This would have led in a few years to the chief command, with rank of Lieutenant-General. But the war was at an end. He could not be a soldier in time of peace, preferring the free life of a civilian among his friends. He sent to the War Department his resignation from the military service under date of September 28, 1865. It required several weeks' time for the appointment of his successor, and for his reporting in person for duty. In due course of time Slocum returned to his family in Syracuse, New York, and he there greatly enjoyed the atmospheric and social conditions of his native county, so different and more invigorating were they than had been those of the summer at Vicksburg.

General Slocum's military service had been one of the most continuous and active of all of the officers, throughout the Civil War. His constancy, tenacity, and entire trustworthiness had led to his rapid promotion. He was frequently called upon to command large bodies of men. None of his superiors had just cause of complaint that he was ever dilatory or disobedient. His discipline was so thorough that he had little complaint to make regarding his subordinates. Those unworthy were soon recognized as such, and they were 'weeded out' of his command. His

worthy generals, and men of the rank and file not disabled, remained with him until the last battle was fought and won. He was thorough regarding all details for success—and success uniformly accompanied his commands and his banners.

The following is a resume of the different Army Corps with which General Slocum was connected from time to time:

Ist Corps in the Army of the Potomac, as commander of a regiment in the Battle of Bull Run, in 1861.

VIth, Army Corps as commanding a brigade, and as division commander, as Brigadier-General, and Major-General, in protecting Washington; in the Peninsular Campaign; the Maryland Campaign and at the Battles of South Mountain or Crampton's Pass, and at the Antietam.

XIIth Corps, as full commander; at Harper's Ferry; the Shenandoah Valley; in the Grand Reserve protecting Washington, to and at the battles of Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg; pursuing the enemy back to the Rappahannock and Rapidan; and in protecting the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, in the Army of the Cumberland.

Ist IIIrd, XIth, and XIIth Corps, Army of the Potomac, the evening and night of the first day at battle of Gettysburg.

Vth, VIth, XIIth, and parts of other Corps, in the Battle of Gettysburg.

IInd and XIIth Corps in pursuit of the enemy from Gettysburg to and at the Rappahannock and Rapidan.

XVIIth Army Corps in part, and local forces, garrisons in fortifications at Vicksburg, Natchez, and other parts of the District of Vicksburg, including gunboats and naval militia, with headquarters at Vicksburg.

XXth Corps, composed of the Union of the XIth and XIIth Corps, in the Chattanooga and Atlanta Campaign from Chattahoochee and in the occupation of Atlanta, Army of the Cumberland.

XIVth and XXth Corps, composing the Army of Georgia, and often the Cavalry, in the great March to the Sea, the occupation of Milledgeville, and Savannah.

XIVth, XVth, and XXth Corps in the Campaign of South Carolina, also the Cavalry, from Savannah to Sister's Ferry.

XIVth and XXth Corps, composing the Army of Georgia,

in the Campaign of the Carolinas, the battles of Averysborough and Bentonville; and in the Triumphal March through Richmond and to Washington, at the close of the war.

The great March to the Sea, through the heart of Georgia, and northward through the hearts of South and North Carolina, without any permanent or friendly base of supplies excepting while at Savannah and Fayetteville, must always be considered as a most brave and perilous undertaking. It will remain in history as the longest, one of the severest, and most hazardous undertakings on record in a civilized country. Its results on the surrender of the different Confederate armies from those of Lee and Johnston to all others, as well as of important cities, was all that could have been desired. It fully demonstrated to the strong belligerant States, and Armies, of the rebelling Confederacy the futility of their further struggle.

The proud cities of Milledgeville, Savannah, and Fayetteville, were captured without battle, and Columbia with little show of opposition. Charleston was vacated of armed resistance to its occupancy by United States authorities as soon as its railway lines of food supplies were cut by the Union troops on the great march.

The battle of the Last Chance of the Confederacy was fought, and won, by General Slocum March 19th and 20th. The Confederate Government disappeared from sight and hearing with the surrender of General Robert E. Lee April 9th. General Joseph E. Johnston, Slocum's opponent, surrendered April 26th. Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor made what he thought to be the last surrender of the war east of the Mississippi River, May 4th at Citronelle, Alabama. General Samuel Jones surrendered the enemy's troops in Florida May 10th. The Unionist President Andrew Johnson issued a proclamation May 10th, to the effect that all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws of the United States had ceased. But General Jefferson Thompson surrendered only part of the troops west of the Mississippi River May 11th at Chalk Bluff, Arkansas; and May 13th the last engagement of the militant Confederates occurred at Palmetto Ranch, Texas. General Kirby Smith did not lay down his arms until May 26th, and he was nominally in charge of all Confederate troops west of the Mississippi.

D. W. Sloeum

Maj. Genl. U. S. V.

At the Close of his Military Career. Age 89 Years

On the sea, the Confederates did not take down their flag until July 1, 1865, their vessels having been distant from United States port.

According to the decisions of the Supreme Court the Civil War ceased as a status in Tennessee June 13, 1865; in Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Florida, it ceased as a status April 2, 1866. In Texas, New Mexico, and the Indian Territory, it ceased August 20, 1866. But these later dates were judicial, not military.

General Slocum did not sheathe his sword finally until the last armed enemy of the United States had fully surrendered. The war was ended; and he could not be a soldier in time of peace.

CHAPTER LI

To Brooklyn. Letters. Elected to Congress

The political parties of New York were very active in the year 1865 and, as early as August, General Slocum had been quite annoyed by long letters from prominent members of the parties there importuning him to accept the office at the head of the ticket, that of Secretary of State, the Governor not being elected this year. Both parties urged their claims for their platforms, and for him to permit his name to be presented to the convention. Slocum's family and other immediate friends were surprised when the Democratic Convention placed his name at the head of its ticket. But this was a Republican year and General Francis C. Barlow, whose name was at the head of the opposing ticket, was elected, in the November election. Barlow was an able officer, and a worthy man, and Slocum did not mourn his own defeat. As an item of news, Slocum must needs mention in his letter this, his first defeat, to his friend Sherman. The reply was characteristic:

Saint Louis, Mo., December 26, 1865.

Gen. H. W. Slocum, Syracuse, New York.

Dear Slocum:

I got home last Friday after a three weeks' absence down in Arkansas, and found, among a budget of letters received, your valued favor of Nov. thirtieth. This is my first leisure hour since, and I hasten to assure you of my great personal attachment, and that I would do almost anything that would mark my favor to you.

I think I was more disappointed at your non-election than you could have been; for I thought that politics had not so strong a hold on New York as to defeat you for an office that should have been above the influence of mere party organization. But you are young, and can stand it; and I know that, some time later, your State will recognize and reward you if you need it, for the military services such as you rendered your country.

At some future time I will come on to Syracuse and stop a day with you to assure you of my great partiality, and also to renew the short but most agreeable acquaintance formed in Washington with your wife, to whom I beg you will convey my best compliments.

As to delivering a lecture at Albany, I must decline. The truth is, on abstract subjects I know I would be as prosy as a cyclopedia, and not half as accurate; and to speak on matters of personal interest, past, present or future, I would be sure to give rise to controversies, useless or mischievous. Of the events with which we are connected, I am already committed, and must stand by the record. Were I to elaborate them it would detract from the interest of what now stands as a contemporaneous narrative. I really think we do best to let others now take up the thread of history, and treat of us as actors of the past.

Please write to Mr. Doty that I am much complimented by his flattering invitation; that I appreciate the object he aims to accomplish, and would be glad to assist therein, but that outside considerations would make it unbecoming to appear in the nature of a lecturer. Too much importance has already been given to the few remarks I have made at times when I simply aimed to acknowledge a personal compliment, and to gratify a natural curiosity by people whose imaginations have been excited by the colored pictures drawn by the press.

I have not preserved out of the late war a single relic—not a flag, not a curious shot or shell; nothing but those simple memories which every New York soldier retains as well as I do. I do think that your regiment was so filled by young men of education and intelligence that the commissioners will find their records swelling to an extent that will more than gratify their fondest expectations.

We are now living in great comfort here. Your excellent photograph has its place in the albums of each of my children, and Mrs. Sherman regards you with special favor. Wishing you all honor and fame among your own people, I shall ever regard you as one of my cherished friends.

With respects,

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

It was not the nature of General Slocum to remain idle. It had been his desire, and expectation, to open an office for the continued practice of the law. While considering the important question of the city for his future residence, the great advantages of that part of New York City then known as Brooklyn

were forcefully presented to him and, after a short prospecting visit in that city among friends, he and his wife decided upon that city for their residence; and he there entered upon the practice of law in the spring of 1866.

It is the desire of the writer to present every item in the history of his subject that may give the reader side-lights as well as front-lights upon the character and actuating motives of this great military commander, who was always sensitive regarding the fair names and fame of those who were, or had been, under his command and, to a just degree sensitive regarding his own rights in all things and at all times. The following letter relates to subjects relative to which most writers on the Great Civil War have been ignorant or defective, in their duty to their readers:

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 8, 1868.

My Dear General:

Your favor of February twenty-fourth has been received. The enclosure (relative to claim for services of a woman in Georgia) was endorsed and forwarded in compliance with your request.

I read with much interest your views as to the future meetings of the officers of your old armies. I have read the proceedings at Cincinnati, including the speeches of yourself and General Thomas, and I frankly confess to you what I have admitted to no other person, that I was a little disappointed that no mention whatever was made by any one of my command under you in the Great March. My command constituted nearly one-half of your force [one-half excepting Kilpatrick's relatively small arm of cavalry] on that march, and your reports show that it bore more than one-half of the losses you suffered, and I think it entitled me to a word of recognition. According to the maps, General Thomas [in far off Tennessee] commanded the Army of Georgia as well as that which defended Nashville, and I cannot for the life of me tell what command I had! I begin to doubt whether or not I was with you! In order that I may get posted on these matters, I think I shall attend the next meeting; but I assure you I am too lazy or too indifferent on the subject to quarrel with my associates for 'the honors.'

Since the eventful days that we spent in Raleigh, I have witnessed some wonderful changes. Logan, who then feared that Frank Blair and myself would be radicals when we reached home, can now throw 'old Thad Stevens' in the shade. Stanton is earnestly supported by the Grand Army of the Republic, although at that time he was exceedingly unpopular in the Army of Georgia.

Ambition and self-interest have wiped out the memory of the past, buried old friendships, and brought into the same fold those who were then sworn enemies. I presume that it is better that it should be so. Still,

I cannot curse a man one day and fawn on him the next. I cannot declare slavery the natural and proper condition of the negro to-day and to-morrow advocate his right to make constitutions and laws. Hence I think I shall never make a politician. And if I am not a politician, of what value is a military record? Thomas may have the credit of commanding your Left Wing, and Logan the credit of Bentonville. . . . On personal as well as political matters, I stand on the Raleigh platform.

Perhaps I owe you an apology for referring to these matters in replying to your kind letter; but as I never allude to them in conversation with friends, or in letters to the press, I trust you will pardon me for writing to you just what I think and feel.

I am still living a quiet and happy life at my home in Brooklyn where Mrs. Slocum as well as myself will ever be glad to welcome you.

Your friend, H. W. SLOCUM.

Lieut. Gen. W. T. SHERMAN,
St. Louis, Mo.

An early reply to this letter was received, namely:

Dear Slocum: St. Louis, Mo., March 13, 1868.

Yours of March eighth is received. I was very glad to see that you took things so philosophically. It should have been my business to have looked after the interests of the absent; but I was told that all would be toasted and noticed, and as many officers of the Fourth and Fourteenth Corps were there I looked to them to say some kind words of you. At all events, I was not conscious that any one had been so omitted till the reports came in print, when I saw at a glance what construction you would put upon it. I will, however, make all the amends I can, and aim to bring all together for once this winter at Chicago, early in December, and afford all the armies once in my command an opportunity to have their own spokesman.

I have a letter from Schofield highly approbating and will now write Thomas, who has never recovered exactly from the criticism on his slow fighting at Nashville, and my taking out of his army two strong corps, a fact that I see, plain enough, he would ignore.

As to politics, it is impossible for language to convey my detestation of them. I have seen Fear, Cowardice, Treachery, Villainy in all its shapes contort and twist men's judgment and actions, but none of them like politics. It may be that politics are honest, respectable, and necessary to a republican form of government; but I will none of them. As you say, Logan is a sample. I remember his ranting and pitching about that old Pagan in Raleigh, pretty much the same style as now, but slightly different in principle.

They have tried to rope me in more than once, but I have kept out and shall do so as long as I can; and then I hope I shall die before what little fame I have is lost and swept away.

Your friend,
W. T. SHERMAN, Lt. General.

Unsought by him, Slocum's name was placed on the ticket for Member of the Forty-first United States Congress in 1868, also for Presidential Elector; and he was elected to both offices. At the expiration of this term, he was re-elected to the next Congress in the year 1870, when the opposing party in the district had a natural majority.

In justice to General Hooker who had apparently ceased being vindictive, as well as to General Slocum who twice officially declined to serve under Hooker for which he took offense, the following letter is here presented to show that Slocum could meet Hooker in a civil way as man should meet man, namely:

Brooklyn, N. Y., May 20th, 1875.

Dear General:

Please accept my thanks for the copy of your book received yesterday. I have not read it, but have read all the extracts published in the New York papers, together with editorial comments. While I anticipate a great row to result from it, I am glad you published it. It throws a flood of light on the story of your campaigns, and not only corrects many errors that have crept into history, but will prevent other falsehoods from appearing.

I accidentally met General Hooker a day or two ago. He was very cordial in his manner towards me. Your book of course became a topic of conversation at once. He is not pleased with it, but was less bitter than I anticipated he would be. He showed me a letter written to him by Geo. Wilkes on October 14, 1864, in which Wilkes relates an interview he had just had with Stanton, in which Stanton shows his animosity to you. He suggests to Hooker that he has placed him in command of a Department where he can not only build up himself, but undermine you. There is not a doubt but that the letter is genuine, and it is a truthful statement of the interview.

I would very much like to see you. When are you going on the plains? You promised to inform me. Yours truly,

H. W. Slocum.

In the year 1876 General Slocum was chosen for the important office of Commissioner of Public Works in the rapidly developing City of Brooklyn. His personal business affairs became so engrossing, however, that he deemed it wise to resign the commissionership before his term had expired. He passed the summer of 1880 in travel through Europe with his family, returning home in time to participate in the presidential campaign of that year, delivering addresses in different Northern States

in favor of the candidacy of his old comrade, General W. S. Hancock.

At the New York State Convention in 1882, his Democratic friends presented his name for Governor. The writer of this book was in this convention at Syracuse, where the first few ballotings portended his nomination. During an intermission the delegates from the western part of the State 'connived with certain ones of New York City' and by the next ballot Grover Cleveland of Buffalo was declared nominated, by a small majority. At the election this was declared to be the tidal wave Democratic year. Mr. Cleveland, from the simple fact that he was a Democrat, received the phenomenal majority of 192,000. Slocum's friends placed his name on the ticket for member of the United States Congress and he was elected by a full share of the great number of votes cast. The writer cannot refrain from transcribing here another characteristic letter from the great Sherman:

Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1882.

Dear SLOCUM:

Looking over the New York papers of this morning I noticed the Club Dinner in Brooklyn in which you and Beecher spoke, and it occurred to me that may be I ought to have written you congratulating you on your recent election to the next House of Representatives. As a matter of course, my thoughts of you, if not of all persons and things, revert back to our army service together, and I do believe I feel the pleasure of a father when any of my old comrades attain anything they desire, be it wealth, influence or station; but time has not stopped, and we hardly recognize each other after seventy eventful years. Politics too, seem to color objects as with a glass, and it might seem disloyal for me to rejoice at the success of a Democrat. But if you, General Slocum, want to come to Congress, I surely am glad that you have come endorsed by such a vote of your fellow citizens, which I choose to interpret as more due to your personal merits and qualities than to your partizan associates. One reason of my regret is that you come just as I leave.

Don't for a moment believe that because a few newspaper scribblers have construed me a martyr, and consequently that I am a fit subject for a Presidential candidate. The thought to me is simply repulsive. I would not be a candidate if I could, and I could not if I would. No, I have my house at St. Louis, my family are anxious to get back, and I am equally so. All our neighbors are as jubilant at the idea of our coming back, and I would be the veriest fool to undergo the torture of a canvass and four years of worry and discomfort for an honor I do not covet or appreciate.

I have seen Presidents Jackson, Harrison, Taylor, Grant, Hayes, and

Garfield, and there is nothing in their experience which tempts me to depart from my convictions. I am under no obligations to sacrifice myself for the Republicans. They called me to Washington against my will, and so legislated that I could not afford to live in a house given to me as a compliment. They cut my pay down below what Lt. Gen. Scott had in 1848, when a dollar was worth two of to-day. Not a year since but my personal expenses have exceeded my salary. They allowed Secretary Belknap to pile up his indignities on me, so that self respect compelled me to go away. All this you know; so that I should owe anything like gratitude to the Republicans is out of the question. But enough. I am glad you have succeeded, and sorry I must leave just as you are coming.

Yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN.

In 1883 General Slocum's friends again rallied for his nomination for the presidency; but there was again at this time a combination of political intriguers with whom he declined to train. But he permitted his name to be used on the ticket for Congress at large from New York State, and he was elected. He was chosen Commissioner of the great Brooklyn Bridge, the first effort in that form of enterprise, and he was influential in declaring it free for the public use.

CHAPTER LII

CIVIL AND SOCIAL SERVICES. BUSINESS VENTURES

In the year 1882 as many surviving members as were able of General Slocum's first command in the Civil War, the 27th New York Regiment, attended a reunion at the General's residence in Brooklyn. Here refreshments were served to them in part by members of the General's family. This hospitality recalled to the minds of the veteran survivors an incident that occurred at the Elmira Barracks in 1861, early in their preparatory soldierly experience, as follows: One day a deputation arrived from Syracuse to pay respects to Colonel Slocum's men. The Barrack Mess-tables were soon spread and the boys partook of a feast of good things, home made by the visitors. Among the party was Mrs. Slocum with an infant in her arms. During the time of compliments and speeches which followed the repast, Captain Wanzer held out his hands to the child which, attracted by his smile and his shining buttons, leaped into his arms.

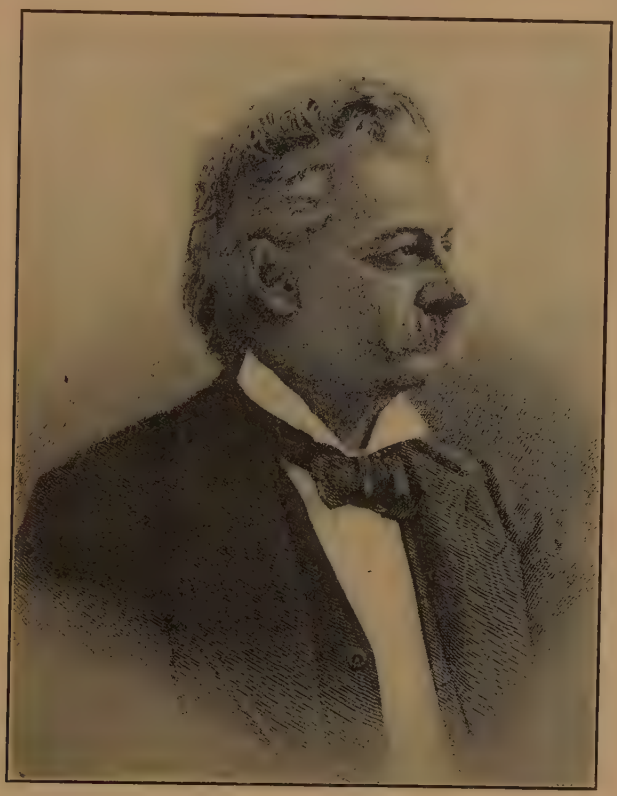
Wanzer called to order, and congratulated his comrades that Syracuse had sent with their handsome Colonel a darling child as 'Daughter of the Regiment.' None who witnessed this pleasing episode then thought that those baby fingers would help serve a banquet to battle-scarred veterans, only a remnant of those youthful volunteers, at a regimental reunion at the residence of General Slocum twenty-one years later. This communication comes to the writer in part from the Philadelphia Times newspaper by way of George L. Kilmer.

In compliance with urgent requests, the General attended the annual reunions of his former troops in different States as often as his increasing business and more local duties would permit. During his official years in the Congress, as well as in his business and social life, he was ever mindful of and for the best interests of those who had done good military service in the Civil War. While he could not for a moment sympathize with pretenders, false or insufficient claims for government bounties in form of pensions or any other undue favors, he was fully sympathetic for all those who had been persistent and honorable servers of their country in any capacity during the years of great need of loyal and trustworthy servants.

While favoring United States Homes for certain disabled soldiers, he sympathized with the efforts of States as much as possible that they might care for their own soldiers in State institutions. He early took action regarding the New York State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Bath, Steuben County, and, from its inception to his death, he continued to serve as the head of its board of control without any pecuniary compensation.

To his former brave comrade in arms, Major-General Fitz John Porter, he remained a loyal, firm friend when nearly all others forsook, or became discouraged, after the charges preferred against him by General Pope, and the action of the Congress thereon. One of Slocum's longest and best speeches in the Congress was delivered Friday, January 18, 1884, when the House was in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the relief of Porter from the findings of former military court, the contention at this time being for Porter's restoration to the Army on the retired list, so as not to oppose, or set aside any worthy officer in commands or places then filled.

General Slocum early became interested financially in the Williamsburg City Fire Insurance Company, this Williamsburg being then within the City of Brooklyn. Other financial investments were presented to him, some of which he discrimin-



H. W. Slocum

General Slocum as a Citizen and National Legislator. At Age of 56 Years

ately entered upon, The Peoples' Trust Company of his city being one, and in which he was later chosen a member of its Board of Managers. The business of the Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company attracted him, and he became a member. The other

members being cognizant of his superior business qualities, elected him member of its Board of Directors.

The General early observed that the street railway companies were not developing their roads as fast as the rapidly increasing population and the necessities of the citizens required. He entered upon this business, developed the Crosstown Railroad Company and was chosen its president. He also developed the Smith and Jay Street and Coney Island Trolley Line, and accumulated a controlling interest, bringing all of these ventures to a satisfactory condition for their patrons and stockholders.

A deep and increasing interest in children and in the proper progress of civilization in their behalf led Slocum to champion the right for their betterment; and to contend strenuously if necessary for the proper punishment of evil minded persons who, for pecuniary gain or any other cause, sought to demoralize them, or any person or the community, in any sense or way. In this great work we find the General's name heading the list of a loyal band of moral heroes' standing shoulder to shoulder in Brooklyn with Rev. William Ives Buddington, D. D., Henry R. Jones, Alfred S. Barnes, Courtland Dixon, J. C. Hutchinson, M. D., and others in the support of Anthony Comstock for the suppression of vice instigation and dissemination.

A short time before the decease of General Slocum his friend General Stewart L. Woodford met him in the street and asked him how much of truth there was in the statement of a mutual friend that he (Slocum) would like to be a member of the Board of Education. General Slocum replied that he had made such statement, and he said to Woodford: "Mayor Schieren is my near neighbor, and I would not like to say it to him myself, but I wish you would tell him that if, when he is making up the list of new trustees, he has no one else, I would like to go into the Board of Education. All my ambition has passed away, but in the closing years of my life I would like to help the children of Brooklyn. A man can do more good in helping the children to be taught well than he can in commanding an army."

The Brooklyn Club appealed to Slocum as a good place to occasionally meet his friends of the city, and to entertain an occasional caller from a distance; and his election to the board

of control had a strong effect in retaining this institution within wholesome bounds of operation.

The General was a member, to the time of his decease, by State appointment, of the Board of Gettysburg Monuments Commissioners. To the multiform duties of this State work he gave much time and thought. New York far surpassed any other State in the number of troops in the Battle of Gettysburg, and its losses there were at least relatively in same proportion. There were of the citizens of New York killed in this battle, 82 officers and 912 enlisted men; wounded 306 officers and 3,763 enlisted men.

General Slocum had the reputation of being a good public speaker although he appeared as little as practicable in public addresses. He visited the Battle-field of Gettysburg occasionally in line with his duties there as Monuments Commissioner, and there it was necessary that he should address the large numbers of those anxious to hear him. Part of his address at the dedication or unveiling of the monument erected in honor of his 149th Regiment of New York Volunteer Infantry, September 18, 1892, will be here given to illustrate his practical style of presenting historical questions, being at once very satisfactory to those present from its descriptive data, and quite the opposite to those at home who evaded military service. The report of this address is printed in full in the Final Report in the year 1900, of the Commission occupying three quarto volumes, in volume iii, pages 1016, 1017. The monuments referred to in the address are beautifully pictured in these books, all of which does great honor to the great Empire State, the native place of the General and the writer. The address in question is as follows:

"Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"We have assembled to dedicate this beautiful monument, which marks one of the places where the One hundred and forty-ninth New York Volunteers fought on this field. My relations to this regiment were peculiar. It was raised in my native county. Many of its members were my personal friends. It served with me from the Battle of Antietam to the close of the war, taking an active and important part not only on this field, but in a score of other battles. It was with me on the great

march from Atlanta to the Sea, and from Savannah to Washington. I should be ungrateful, indeed, if I failed to do all in my power to perpetuate the memory of its gallant deeds.

"Soon after the close of the war, a few gentlemen, foreseeing the interest which must be felt in the field on which the turning battle of the great civic war was fought, formed an association known as the 'Gettysburg Battle-field Memorial Association.' A portion of the land on which the battle was fought was purchased, and it became the property of the Association. The location of the various regiments and batteries were marked. The first monument erected on the field was the one on this line, erected by Massachusetts to mark the place where so many men of the gallant Second Massachusetts gave up their lives. This was followed by the State of Pennsylvania. Then some of the soldiers of our State, remembering that we had more men in this battle, and lost more in killed and wounded than any other State, went to our legislature and secured an appropriation of $1,500 for each regiment and battery from New York, to be used in the erection of monuments. We have now on this field eighty-two monuments. I congratulate you that after the lapse of twenty-nine years you are permitted to return, and with this monument mark the place where you and your comrades so gallantly fought.

"For many years after the Battle of Waterloo, English historians, poets and novelists vied with each other in glorifying the heroes who fought under Wellington on that renowned field. These laudations reached every fireside where the English language was spoken. In my schoolboy days a part of our daily exercises in reading was an extract from 'Childe Harold' on the celebrated ball given by the Duchess of Richmond to the officers of Wellington's army on the night before the Battle of Waterloo. Every schoolboy could repeat those lines from Byron. And at that I thought, if I ever crossed the ocean my first visit would be to that far-famed field, and that the sight of it and of one of the heroes who fought there would amply recompense me for the journey.

"And yet, comrades, you fought on this field a battle greater than that of Waterloo; greater in the number of men engaged;

greater in the loss of killed and wounded; and far greater in its effect upon the destinies of mankind.

You often hear some of your comrades spoken of as 'poor old soldiers.' Some of them, I regret to say, are poor—poor in health and poor in pocket. But, in another sense, no soldier is absolutely poor. We are all rich in a wealth of memory; rich in feelings such as must have come rushing upon you as you approached this field after a lapse of twenty-nine years. They are all rich in a nation's gratitude.

"During our Civil War there were men in every Northern State of an age and in a physical condition to qualify them for the service, and had no ties binding them to their homes stronger than those which bound you and me to ours, but who could not be drawn into the ranks even by a draft. Some of them cannot prove to-day by their substitutes that they ever bade 'God speed' to one of these substitutes, or to any other soldier as he marched to the field! Some of them cannot prove by their own families that in the hour of the Nation's peril that they did so much patriotic service as to even breathe the hope that the next news from the front would bring tidings of a Union victory. They spent their time criticising the government—cursing Lincoln's hirelings and damning the draft law. And when the war was over, disappointed that it had not proven a failure, some of them sought to rob the government creditor by compelling the redemption of his bonds by an unlimited issue of paper money. Now, my comrades, I know not of what you think of this breed of patriots, but I have no hesitation in saying that, in my judgment, the poorest old soldier that served on this field, as he hobbles past you on crutches and in rags, is rich in comparison to one of them!

"Once more I congratulate you on the happy circumstances under which you are permitted to return to this field which reflects so much honor upon you. To-morrow you go to the Nation's Capitol, and will march once more over the same route that you followed at the Grand Review at the close of the war. You will find the Capitol City greatly improved. Instead of a straggling village with unpaved and dirty streets, you will find one of the most beautiful cities in world—a city teeming with life and prosperity. The improvement in the City of Washing-

ton is typical of that of the entire country. We are a prosperous and happy people, and to you and to your comrades the Nation is indebted for this prosperity and happiness.''

Among his other business ventures was his membership with the Coombs, Crosby and Eddy Company which, like his other associations in business, proved successful.

He was invited to membership in the high Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. He accepted membership in this patriotic association, and was later chosen its Commander which office was rather more honorary than otherwise. He was also chosen Honorary President of the Society of the Army of the Potomac.

CHAPTER LIII

Decease. Spontaneous Testimonials

At the beginning of his last sickness General Slocum said positively that death was near. He added 'I am ready; the world owes me nothing,' wrote Sydney Reid in Harper's Weekly soon after the General's decease.

His sickness was pneumonia, with renal complication, and weakness of the heart, causing death in the early morning of April 14, 1894, after about a week's confinement to his house. His widow's decease occurred in March, 1898.

The General had said to his family that he preferred a quiet and unostentatious funeral, even with as little display as possible to avoid. His family, however, justly felt obliged to accede to the requests of the thousands of his, more or less, personal friends and his companions in arms, that they be allowed to do him the honor they felt he so richly earned by his distinguished services to the Republic.

The history and associations of General Slocum's life had been of such public, and important, interest and value in different senses, that it was inevitable that there should follow his decease numerous public, society, and private testimonials expressing sadness at his departure, and the high esteem in which he was held.

The Assembly of the State Legislature publicly acknowledged a sense of its and the State's loss in his death, and ap-

pointed a committee to attend the funeral. The Common Council of the City of Brooklyn resolved to attend the obsequies in a body, that irrespective of politics, "as a lawyer and a business man we have all learned to respect this great man. His name and deeds are a heritage to our beautiful City. . . . that it was not difficult for many of us of this later generation to think of him as the compeer of Lincoln, Grant and Sherman." The Board of Supervisors of Kings County, embracing Brooklyn, also met, expressed their warm sense of loss to themselves and the public, and offered condolence to the family; a committee of five was appointed to attend the funeral. Such was the action of the business companies with which the General had been associated. The Senate of the State of New York, and the United States Congress, were quick to take such action, and to spread their sentiments upon their journals. Likewise the Committee on Military Affairs. The social and fraternal societies also sent their similar resolutions, including the Grand Army Posts of the State of New York, and of other States throughout which the numerous soldiers of the general's different commands were dispersed.

The funeral exercises consisted of a brief service at his home, 645 Clinton Avenue. Then Rankin Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, of which he was a member, escorted the body to the Church of the Messiah—Protestant Episcopal, it being the family place of worship and support. The First United States Artillery Band played a dirge during the march. Reservations were made at the church for the members of the family and relatives, for delegations from the Loyal Legion, and Grand Army, for officers of the Regular Army and Navy, of the National Guard, and for other public, social, and fraternal organizations.

The services consisted of the reading of a chapter of Scripture and prayer by the Reverend Charles R. Baker, D. D., rector, and then the rendering of the full choral service. The Reverend Richard Salter Storrs, D. D., pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, Congregational, upon request delivered the Address, from which the following are liberal extracts, namely:

> The spontaneous feeling throughout the city, and equally among the many who have come to us from abroad, seems to take this occasion out of the common, and to allow—perhaps to require—a freer individual utter-

ance than is usual, concerning him who has gone from among us. It is not so much for honor to him as for satisfaction to our own hearts that we pause for a little, in grateful reminiscence, before going forth, with banners furled and muffled drums, to the final rites.

In the brief address assigned to me by the desire of the household of our friend, and through the courtesy of the rector of this church, it is evident that no just and adequate tribute can be paid to the brilliant commander and noble citizen around whose coffin we are gathered. The office of sufficient eulogy must plainly be reserved for other times and other voices. But we are surely at liberty to speak, as we are prompted to speak, of what we are henceforth to miss, of what the city is to miss, of what his own household most sadly and deeply is to miss in the removal of this eminent and trusted man from life on earth. We are at liberty, as we are prompted, to recognize gratefully God's goodness toward him, in the powers which He gave him, in the education of mind and character which He supplied, and in the opportunity which He opened for great service to the Nation and its future. And while we bow ourselves submissively before the present Divine appointment, it is our privilege to gather, as far as we briefly may, certain natural and helpful impressions of what has been and must always be this remarkable and now rounded career.

It is, of course, not an especially prolonged life which we commemorate, though it had nearly reached the scriptural limit of three score years and ten, and to our eyes gave promise of much longer continuance. Nor, of late years, has it been a particularly conspicuous life, this which is now closed, eminent in public observation and thought; though a luster from the past has always signally rested upon it, and the great results coming from one sublime and crowded passage in it have always been recognized. As far as I have seen and known it, it has seemed far more than is common among men removed from the reach of human censure. Certainly it has been a life noble in spirit, in aim, and in effort, which has justly entitled him who achieved it to the place which he held, not only in the affection of friends, but in the universal public esteem. It has been a life presenting as we all must know, extraordinary contrasts, impressive and memorable. This has been true even of the circumstances of his recent departure out of mortal limitations to the greater though unseen Life beyond.

Always it is a thing strangely impressive when an invisible chill in the air smites fatally a life which shot and shell, saber and bayonet, on the most fiercely contested fields of battle had failed to reach; when one who has trodden battle-fields thickly covered with the dying and the dead, and swimming in blood, is done to death by an impalpable atmospheric current; when one who has pushed his stubborn and impetuous way through swamps writhing with wounded and echoing with groans, or through thickets and forests where the very air was almost solid with the shattering bullets, himself more than once dangerously wounded in such terrific collisions of force and fire, survives them all, to die afterward in the midst of friends, in his own quiet home, beneath the tender dew of tears,

to be laid to rest in the lovely and tranquil neighboring cemetery 'the place of sleep.'

There is a contrast here which stirs the imagination, which touches the heart, and which must live in the memory of all.

But even this is not so remarkable as that between the career of a great and brilliant general of armies, as our friend was for a series of years, and the quiet, unostentatious, always unassuming citizen and friend, whom we have familiarly known. I remember to have been much impressed by this one summer-day nearly a year ago when General Slocum, in one of the last conversations which I had with him, did me the honor to ask me and urge me to give an Address at Gettysburg, on the then approaching anniversary of the great and fateful battle there fought. The Address was impossible, but the interview I gratefully recall. It seemed almost incredible at the time that the modest, friendly, unassuming gentleman, who sat so quietly talking in my library, should be the great leader who, with forces suddenly diminished, had held the right of the national army with unflinching steadiness to the perilous edge on that day with whose fame the world resounds; who had recaptured positions already torn from him by overwhelming numbers, and had contributed so grandly to the ultimate triumphant success. But so it was always: when one met him on the street, or on any social or festive occasion. The glamour of a great past was upon him, yet beneath it he was as simple as if wholly unknown. He who had fronted the grimmest and fiercest perils of war with an undisturbed pulse, and at whose command batteries had opened and armies had been launched on their victorious and destroying way, was still our helpful neighbor and cordial friend.

Yet even this contrast of past and present positions before men was not so remarkable as was that between the moral and personal qualities shown in the camp, or amid the uproar of battle, and those appearing in subsequent domestic and social life. Men could hardly believe, sometimes, that the daring, energetic, invincible leader, fiercely aggressive, with flashing intuition and trained intelligence, and with an utterly unconquerable persistent courage, was the same man in whom what was gentle, gracious, playful, affectionate, came so constantly into view at the home and in society; the grasp of whose hand was so cordially welcoming; whose eye was so kindly, whose voice had in it the musical pathos of such serene sympathy; who was so fond of children and friends, of books and of home; that one who had been stern and terrible on occasion, should present himself to all who knew him in later life as among the most lovable and delightful of men. But the contrast here was not a real one. It was only apparent. Always there are two aspects of a great character. Strength and beauty are joined in it, as sparkling fountains issue singing from rocky recesses, as delicate blossoms charmingly appear on craggy cliffs.

Paul, the most martial of apostles, illustrates this. His favorite imagery was always, as we know, derived from the camp and its armor, the shield, the sword, and helmet of battle. He exhorts his son in the

gospel to endure hardness as a good soldier. He felt himself a sworn champion for the Crucified and the Crowned; and his words ever since have rung in the world as trumpet-notes, as the throb of artillery, as the stern prophetic shouts of victory. It is impossible not to feel that if he had been a leader of legions he would have been one of the most stalwart of commanders; would have marched to battle with a step as untrembling as that with which he went to his martyr-doom. Yet Paul was the one who wrote to the fierce and fickle Galatian Christians those memorable words "the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance" and who exemplified in his life what he so touchingly and persuasively commended.

So was it, in his different measure, with our friend. The two phases of character were combined in him, as in even his physical frame grace and strength were met together, elegance of figure with a strange strength and power of endurance. The stern self-surrender and self-sacrifice of the soldier were in him; but also the gentleness, goodness, peace, of the man both loving and beloved. Men will always admire and praise that golden side of his shield which flashed so brilliantly before the eyes of the nation, the eyes of the world, in the years of the war. But all who knew him have deeply felt that the silver side, which was turned toward them, was not less rare, and had upon it a still lovlier luster.

So it was that his return to civil and social life when the war was over was wholly natural, involving in it no violent transition. He had not loved war for its own sake. No great commander ever does. He had recognized it as sometimes a sad necessity; the dread arbitrament of battle between the irreconcilable doctrines, causes, tendencies of the age. But it was in order to ultimate peace that he fought. It was for the maintenance and advancement of a benign civilization that he had so often fronted death; and therefore when the war was over he turned again to the pursuits and habits of peace, as naturally and as easily as an eagle from his flight returns to his nest, and settles into its shaded repose. He had done his historic work. He had builded his life into the life of the Nation. Thenceforth the city in which he was joyfully welcomed and honored was to be his sphere of labor, his home, his paradise.

It is of course only just to say, what we all feel to be true, that in the removal of this brilliant and faithful soldier and friend Brooklyn has lost her most famous citizen, of the widest present renown; that the Nation has lost one of the foremost among the few thus far remaining of its great and honored commanders in the terrible and successful struggle of the last generation for liberty and national unity. A fresh sense should come to us, on every occasion like this, of our obligation to maintain the nation and make it nobler, for which our friend, and for which many others now present, dared, endured, and were faithful to the end. 'Purchased by blood' is the crimson and conquering legend on the front of the Church of Christ on earth. 'Purchased by blood' is a legend forever to show itself in the history of this Christian nation. Let us highly resolve, now and

always, that such heroism in deed, such supremacy of self-sacrifice, shall not for us have been in vain; that the real palm branches borne before our illustrious soldiers, as one by one we carry them to the grave, shall be just laws, public equities, the ever advancing power and beauty of the nation which they saved, within itself, and toward all others. And let us learn, most of all, the great lesson of the character of him who has gone, as it arises before us; that the bravest are the gentlest, the most daring are the most delicate, the most stern in the exacting and critical conjunctures of public history are also the most modest and magnanimous. So his life will further live in our personal lives, as it will live also, in all coming time, in the renewed and exalted life of the nation which honored him while he lived, and which to-day watches his obsequies.

The descending sun leaves behind him a tranquil, lucent glory in the sky, showing that still he shines as before, though now beyond the reach of our vision. The happy remembrance of a friend departed is like that gold on the western heavens, still for a time irradiating our hearts, while telling us also of other spheres of life and work, in God's grace of a serene and heavenly rest, beyond our furthest time-horizon. And so we leave henceforth our honored friend, our noble citizen, to History and to God.

After the church services the body was borne out by the eight sergeants and placed on a gun-carriage. It was then carefully covered by the American Flag which he had so strenuously upheld, and the large and impressive procession moved forward, General Horatio C. King directing. The Light Battery of Artillery from Fort Hamilton under command of Colonel Loomis W. Langdon, and the Twenty-third Regiment of Infantry under Colonel A. C. Smith, which had been massed near the church, fell in with others in prescribed order, to the number of 3,000 or more, including old soldiers and the National Guard, with long line of carriages containing the families and close relatives, dignitaries, and citizens generally. The principal part of the military escort turned away at Fourth and Atlantic Avenues, and the others continued to the historic Greenwood Cemetery Reception Vault. As the body was there being deposited the United States Artillery, in which he began his military service, announced his final departure from the view of his mourners by the Major-General's farewell of twelve gun-discharges, the bugler's sound of 'taps.' The vault door was closed, and the long procession began its silent return homeward.

The Will of General Slocum was filed for probate by the Brooklyn Trust Company, which was named therein as the ex-

ecutor. No schedule of property was filed. The testator had been successful in his business ventures and his estate was large. He had been successful in bringing the Brooklyn street railways to a large and profitable patronage by the public. He owned a large amount of the stock of the general system, and a controlling interest in the Brooklyn and Coney Island Railway which was generally spoken of as Slocum's road. He was its president and general manager until the last two years of his life when he voluntarily gave way to his older son bearing his name. His Will was a short document making two public bequests, namely: $5,000 to the Children's Aid Society of Brooklyn, and $5,000 to the Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, thus contributing to the proper care of some of those who were and are to become the protectors and supporters of their community, State, and Nation. All of the residue of his estate was bequeathed to his widow and their three children.

Some of the most touching sentiments of personal loss came later from the New York State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Bath, New York. The flag over this institution was directed placed at half-mast, and a special meeting of the Board of Trustees was called for an 'expression of profound sorrow and regret at the loss of their distinguished President.' At this meeting an extended In Memoriam was adopted and ordered published. A few excerpts will be here given, namely:

> The first Board of Trustees of the Soldiers' Home was appointed by Governor Lucius Robinson. It comprised the most distinguished soldiers of New York State, and its members of whom General Henry W. Slocum was appropriately the first named, were eminently fitted by their ability and their devotion to the objects for which the Home was established, to successfully inaugurate its management and make sure its benefits. With unanimous voice General Slocum was elected President, and until the hour of his death he continued the discharge of the duties of that office with unabated zeal. Although residing at a great distance from the Home, and notwithstanding the demands of his large personal business and public duties, he seldom missed a meeting, and never failed in his faithful care for and devotion to the Home and its interests. His rare good business judgment was of inestimable value, and in all trials and difficulties the Board and management turned to him as a tower of strength. But it was not this alone that won and retained our regard and affection. Besides this it was those qualities of heart displayed in social intercourse which made him the loved and valued friend of every member of the Board.

We mourn his loss to the institution as irreparable. But above and beyond this we are impressed with inexpressible sadness at the sudden sundering of the ties of friendship and social intercourse which have so long existed.

The Nation has lost a great soldier, the State an eminent citizen, the business community a distinguished member, and the Soldiers' Home a devoted officer. Appreciating his service to our country in war and peace, and the personal qualities that made him worthy of all affection and esteem, we tender to his bereaved family our heart-felt sympathy for the loss of a loving husband and father, a wise counsellor and friend.

The Board attended the funeral in a body, at the residence, the church, and to the end. Its In Memoriam ran on for several pages in length.

The Keeley League of the New York State Soldiers' and Sailors' Home held a special meeting in their club rooms and adopted a series of resolutions regarding their 'loss of a true and warm advocate and liberal patron of their league.'

Independent Memorial services were held in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, April 29, 1894, where General Slocum's comrade General Oliver O. Howard delivered an eloquent address, and General Benjamin F. Tracy before offering resolutions, said: "We should erect for him a monument, not for his sake, not for ourselves, but for those who will come after us, that they may read of the virtues of this departed hero."

General Slocum had promised to deliver an address, in a historical series, before school children of Brooklyn May 4, 1894; but this date was turned into a memorial service of the deceased expected speaker, with Major William G. Tracy, a long-time member of the General's staff, as speaker. After carefully reviewing the life of his subject, Major Tracy closed his address as follows:

To every commander under whom General Slocum served, he gave prompt and loyal support, doing to the utmost of his power whatever duty came to his hand. No one ever had reason to complain of slowness or languid and insufficient support on his account. Always courteous to his equals and subordinates, and submitting to some assertion on their part, without meddling or flattery he was firmly independent with his superiors, and would never submit to unjust criticism or action from them of himself or his command. His military career is spotless and without stain. It was inspired from first to last by pure and noble-minded patriotism.

General Slocum was always and essentially a domestic man. His staff

officers during the war were simply members of his family. Ever familiar and kind, he endeared himself to all of us by the personal interest he took in everything that concerned us. He restrained our excesses, taught us honesty, temperance and frugality, and while he treated us as his equals, he never allowed us for a moment to forget the respect we owed to him and his position. He influenced us by his example in the formation of those habits which contribute to permanent success in life.

In the years that have passed since the close of my military experience, I have seen and known many men struggling in the battle of life for existence and power. I have watched them greedily grasping for the smallest distinction, magnifying their own services, and either appropriating or belittling those of others, and I have learned to better appreciate the noble character of the soldier who has just left us. In all the sterling qualities that go to make up a man, I have seldom met the equal or superior of Major-General Henry W. Slocum. Firm and resolute of purpose, yet with so much modesty, so little of self-assertion; so faithful in the performance of whatever he believed to be his duty; so independent in his speech and conduct, whatever might be the future result. He was the noblest and greatest soldier that the State of New York gave to the nation; he was an honor to his name, his race and his country.

The leading Editorial in the daily newspaper, The Brooklyn Citizen of April 14, 1894, read as follows:

General Slocum who, since the period of the Civil War in which he won his renown, has had his life and fortunes identified with Brooklyn, died in this city at two o'clock this, Saturday, morning. The sad announcement comes with a great shock to the community upon which he had long shed luster, and in which he was much beloved. The cause of his death was pneumonia, but so far was the public from being prepared for a fatal termination that, as late as last evening, the news was that he seemed to be on the road to recovery. The attack of the disease, so far as the newspapers were informed, though serious, was not regarded by the attending physicians as likely to carry off the patient. The sudden change for the worse is but another proof that there are contingencies which can neither be foreseen nor provided against by the highest professional skill. The General, though not an old man—his age was but sixty-seven—had evidently lived so fully up to the measure of his strength that less than sufficient energy remained with which to face the crisis of the disorder which, under other conditions, would have been successfully surmounted. A man of slight build, distinguished at all times for nervous and intellectual activity notably out of proportion to the bone and muscle of his body, he was capable of offering but little resistance to a malady which accomplishes its end rather by sapping the vigor of the frame than by vitiating the blood. The remark that 'man's life is an appendix to his heart' is peculiarly applicable to this relation; and not less so is the still older observation that 'to live long it is necessary to live slowly.' The deceased had

left no fiber of the propulsive organ unstrained, and the story of his life furnishes all the evidence necessary that to achieve rather than to exist was with him the dominant purpose.

The name of General Slocum is permanently enshrined in the history of the Republic. It is inconceivable that a time will ever come when Americans will not be profoundly interested in the records of the great struggle for the perpetuity of the Union, and which gave us at once a united country, deliverance from the overhanging curse of human slavery, and the foremost place ever held by a self-governing people on the globe. But until such time does arrive, the name and fame of the modest, valiant and efficient soldier, whose death we lament, will remain undimmed. . . . After the eye of the student of history has lingered upon the names of Grant, Sherman, Meade, Sheridan, Thomas, and McClellan, it will turn with hardly lessened interest to those of Hancock, Hooker, McPherson, Howard, and Smith, and second to none of these will stand the name of Slocum. From the beginning of the war till its close, almost from the first beating of the drum that called the patriotism of the North to arms, till the last rebel against Federal authority had laid down his sword, Slocum was in the field. He was a fighting general. The first Battle of Bull Run found him steadfast in the midst of defeat, even as Gettysburg found him a pillar of triumphal defense, and the March to the Sea, one of the most conspicuous of the commanders whose skill and valor clove the Confederacy in twain.

In the West, in the East, around Vicksburg, there were few engagements of the first order which did not find him conspicuous among the most distinguished and successful marshals of the North. He served under McClellan, under Burnside, under Meade, under Pope, under Sherman, and under all he, alike in the darkness of defeat and the glory of victory, was notable as a soldier who never failed in his duty, never shrank from the face of an enemy, never quarrelled with a superior officer, never complained of ill treatment or disappointed ambition, and always proved himself equal to the largest duties laid upon his shoulders. Than his there are more shining records in the annals of the army, but none better. Fortune might have advanced him in rank, but it was never in the power of fortune to enable any soldier to show more decisively that whatever might befall he could be counted upon to do his duty with an unfaltering heart and a capacity equal to the most pressing emergency.

Of the life of General Slocum here in Brooklyn little need be said. It is enough perhaps to say that he never shrank from the discharge of any of the duties of citizenship, that he placed his hopes of good government in the Democracy, and that in all the pleasant ways in which a cultivated and interesting gentleman can contribute to the pleasure of the community he exercised his talents. He wore his honors with so fine a grace that he might have sat any day for a picture of modesty. It is impossible that any man ever lived who presumed less upon his claims to deference for services rendered to the public than General Slocum.

It is with almost as much of pride as of sadness that we say farewell to this gallant spirit. It is sad to reflect that few of the more conspicuous commanders of the North remain. They have one by one gone to the Valley of Avilion, like King Arthur, to heal them of their grievous wounds; and with the passing of Slocum we gaze, as it were, upon the last member of the shining procession as it fades from the physical vision to reappear in the permanent sphere of memory. But this, as it is in accordance with nature, is a melancholy mood that gives way to the joy that arises upon the further reflection that the deeds of our heroes are a permanent possession, that their example has increased the total value of life, that it was a high privilege to have shared existence with them, that the very atmosphere of the Republic is vital with their spirit, and that they and liberty are destined to a common immortality.

The Brooklyn Standard-Union daily newspaper of April 14, 1894, carried the following leading editorial on The Death of General Slocum:

Visitors to the Battle-field of Gettysburg and students of war history do not need to be military experts to know, when the headquarters of General Slocum are pointed out on the extreme right of the lines of the Army of the Potomac, that he was placed in a position of supreme and critical importance.

The world knows all about the picturesque in Pickett's charge on the third day of the Gettysburg combat, and the sweeping assault by Longstreet on the second day; and has accepted the romantic stories of the two Round Tops and the Devil's Den, as it has the battle above the clouds [by Slocum's men] at Chattanooga; but there is great imperfection in the general understanding of the splendid struggle on the right (Slocum's wing) on the second and third days, in which five New York regiments, with only thirteen hundred muskets, under Greene, supported by Wadsworth, resisted the desperate advance of Johnston's Confederate division through the afternoon of the second and the morning of the third day's fighting.

Slocum was not a noisy and advertising chieftain, but a soldier whose make-up was pure steel, and he always bore an edge like a battle-axe in the flaming front of war. Right behind him at Gettysburg was the reserve of artillery and ammunition of the army, and the choice troops of the Confederacy were sent to turn the right flank of the National position; and for them to have done so would have been the irretrievable ruin of the Army of the Potomac, and in that event who can conjecture the tremendous and disastrous changes of history?

During the Longstreet battle, beating back Sickles, on the second day, troops were withdrawn from the right (Slocum) to help on the left, until Slocum made so absolute a remonstrance that he was allowed to keep Greene and Wadsworth. The National line was in the form of a fish-hook,

the curve being around Cemetery Hill, the shank of the hook extending southward, the position of Slocum just at the barb, and his services there were beyond all estimation.

We state this with particularity, now that the hero is gone, as a typical fact in his career. Throughout the war, from Bull Run to Bentonville, whenever, wherever a true, unfaltering, competent soldier was wanted, the commanders of the armies, from McDowell to Sherman, knew Slocum was brave, faithful and capable, among the very strongest and bravest of the brave and the strong. Wounded at Bull-Run; in the thick of the Seven days' battles before Richmond; conspicuous at Malvern Hill; the commander of the corps that at last checked the daring and brilliant assault at Chancellorsville of Stonewall Jackson, the last stroke of the Southern genius of the war; in the vortex of the whirlpool of fight at second Manassas; in the great South Mountain skirmish, and the fierce tempest at Antietam; going west for the North after Gettysburg, as Longstreet for the South; commanding the Army of Georgia on the march from Atlanta to the Sea; standing against Joe Johnston in the despairing rush of the forlorn but gallant and dangerous army of the Confederacy on Sherman's left in the forests of North Carolina; riding under the fiery sleet, cool and commanding, from the first great battle of the great war to the last; imperturbable in victory; on horseback cheering his troops, hat and sword in hand, steadying their broken ranks at Chancellorsville, was Henry Warner Slocum. Under all fortunes a hero, under all circumstances a gentleman and soldier, and becoming all the glory of those proud and chivalric titles, he was a man his friends loved without stint, and the Nation owes him gratitude, and the generations to come should remember him as one of the foremost of the patriots who, with blood and iron, saved the noblest fabric of human government from the desolation of ruin and dishonor. His figure will stand imperishable in the group of the leaders—whom history and art shall illuminate and embody and enshrine—in the mighty and glorious cause that won the war.

The characteristics of General Slocum in military life distinguished him in his civic affairs. He was of a temperament that made garrison duty when he was a young officer extremely irksome, and when he had endured nearly five years of it he insisted upon resigning and returning to Syracuse. . . . The outbreak of the war called him to the field, where he was as soon as there was fighting to do, and remained until it was all over. When the war was ended he refused to remain in the regular army, and in Brooklyn resumed the practice of law. He was too manly a man to submit to the manipulators of the politics of intrigue, and it was impossible that he could be a subordinate of the Boss whose iron rule has made so broad and sinister a mark. Nothing but local opposition, in the highest degree creditable to him, prevented his nomination for Governor when Grover Cleveland carried off the prize from the Syracuse Convention of 1882. If General Slocum had then succeeded, his majority would in all probability have been larger than that which Cleveland re-

ceived, and that gave him the pedestal from which he stepped to the Presidency. The majority of the people wanted Slocum, and the opposition of his own county because he was not a Boss man alone prevented his nomination. As Governor of New York, with two hundred thousand majority behind him, he would have been the nominee against Blaine in 1884, and the political and partisan record of the country from that day to this would have been cast in different molds; and other names than those now prominent would have been on the wires and in the prints, and sounded through trumpets blown from the towers to tell of triumph. The name of Slocum will be memorable. In war and in peace, around his person was shifted the scene of history.

The citizen of highest distinction, and beloved beyond expression by his comrades in arms, who in their thin ranks will feel lonesome in their bereavement; the quiet, kindly man, who never posed or faltered or paltered, and was clear in the high and sacred offices of friendship; the loving domestic man of peaceful days; the successful man of business; the 'good gray head that all men knew' disappears from the walks of men. A glorious personage, the school children recognized as significant of honorable and eventful achievement, and revered as embodying the reputation of their country, as the streaming Stars and Stripes typifies its splendor, has departed from our midst, to dwell in the firmament of memory, while ages on ages unroll the illuminated scroll of the great days of the Republic.

The leading editorial of the newspaper The Brooklyn Daily Eagle of April 14, 1894, well expressed the opinion of its many well informed readers in the following choice sentiments, under the heading HENRY WARNER SLOCUM, as follows:

The army and the Nation will note in the death of General Slocum, this morning, the loss of one of their most distinguished historical military figures. Congress will recognize that a man who came to it with renown as a chieftain, and who, in its service, gained reputation as a representative, has passed away. The State will reflect that the most celebrated of her sons in the war for the Union is no more. The military and civic societies to which he belonged will truly declare that their most illustrious member has passed away.

Only secondarily in any of these respects will the man who died this morning be suggested to Brooklyn. They were respects that fitted the man in perspective. To the people of this town the man was a citizen, a neighbor, a voter, and an incumbent of business and public trusts. Here he was also known as a husband, a parent, a grandfather, a friend, a confidant. Brooklyn had to do with his personality. His achievements framed him to the rest of the world.

The difference was great. It did not reduce his fame here. It simply here made his fame a property which he and his townsmen set aside when

they met. He never paraded it. They never needed it in their relation to him or in their association with him. There never was a great soldier who bore himself in peace with less recurrence to his record. The town knew that in him it could boast a compeer of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. It also knew that boasting was not his liking or his habit. The man's modesty and the city's practicality a little disadvantaged the current estimate of General Slocum.

Those in whom the war did not move as a fact in which they took part —especially those born or matured since the war ended—found it not always easy to account for the world-wide reputation of the man as a matter in relation with his plain, homespun, every-day bearing with them. The only really great soldier of the war among us, he was the least military man here. A great commander of great armies and the victor in tremendous battles, he was locally dwarfed on display occasions by not a few whom he so outclassed in every substantial regard that they ought not to be named—and shall not be—when he is. This was as he would have it. He had only contempt for professional soldiers, as he had only affectionate regard for soldiers by profession. With Howard, Langdon, Swayne, and Porter he was as friendly, in their character of warriors in reality, as he was with William Marshall, William J. Coombs, Henry R. Jones, and his few other close civilian friends here.

The shyness and reserve that made his merits under-appraised in life will convert to high value now that he is dead. They were real. The cheap silver of display, the gilt tinsel of uniform, epaulettes, cockade, buttons, sword and sash and plumes and the like, distinguished, or at least characterized, quite different men. He was the gold of soldiership and of citizenship. They were the scum of war and the froth of peace.

Long Brooklyn's, he is History's now and Fame's. It is, therefore, due to say that the former President of the Crosstown Railroad Company was the man whose vote decided, and whose valor held Gettysburg as the pivotal battle-ground in the war between the States. The citizen who devised for his son a control in the Smith and Jay Street and Coney Island trolley line was the captor of Atlanta. The some time head of the Department of City Works commanded one of the two armies that Sherman lead to the Sea. The quiet and neighborly occupant of the frame house on Clinton Avenue was the hero of Bentonville, who closed the long chase of Joe Johnston with a terrific whipping of him in a stand-up fight against great odds. The quiet member who so easily managed the interests of the Brooklyn Club awhile ago was the military governor of an immense province washed by the Mississippi and the ocean.

These contrasts were little appreciated here at times, for when Slocum came to Brooklyn he resumed the modest role of citizen which he filled in Syracuse before he went afield. He sheathed his sword down South, and never bared it for the eyes of vanity or for the applause of the multitudes up North. He put on plain clothes and a plain life. Occasionally he would

reappear in his historical character, but it would be with Grant, Sherman, Hancock, and such men, on occasions replete with friendly reminiscence and destitute of spectacle.

He went to Congress, he accepted local place, he acted with his party, or with citizens against it, entirely in his capacity and on his right as a citizen, and in none of these matters did he solicit or relish support on the ground of his military service. He regarded that service too highly to market it in or for any other. For those who did market their military service as a make-weight or make-place in politics his contempt was constant. Before the war he went to the Assembly, and was elected Treasurer of Onondaga County. Before that he was graduated from West Point; but the idea of being a soldier in peace or of being a civilian in war was repugnant to him, while the notion of playing both roles at once was simply intolerable to him.

He went to West Point from liking for military science. He served long enough to repay the government's educational claim on him. He then studied for the bar, practiced law, and represented his fellow citizens in the offices they chose him to fill. When the Union was attacked he sought military service again and took what was first offered. The government's claim was an ever renewable one for cause to him. The army record of no man was better. He was never relieved. He was never superseded. In command he was never surprised or defeated. No complaint was ever justly made of him by others or of others by him. He was repeatedly promoted, and in every instance for gallantry and success on the field. With natures and capacities as different as those of McDowell, McClellan, Burnside, Stanton, Hooker, Schofield, Thomas, McPherson, Meade, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan, and Lincoln, he got on equally well. He served and was served splendidly. He followed and led grandly. He obeyed and commanded and planned admirably. His was the most even and progressive success of any Northern chieftain. The war done, he left the army as absolutely as he had identified himself with it.

It was inevitable that abilities and availabilities such as his would be recurred to by politicians. Their recurrence to them cannot be charged to him. He did nothing to stimulate it. He did much to bring the effort to naught. He had been a Republican before the war. In the war he was politically nothing. At the close of the war preferment waited on Republican soldiers. He coolly became a Democrat. That party ran him for Secretary of State. He was in command at Vicksburg when he was nominated at Syracuse. None on his ticket was successful, but his object of staying or reducing the tide of reproach unjustly running against Northern Democrats was accomplished so far as the instance of a soldier of his renown porclaiming his adhesion to that party could do so. He could have been the Republican instead of the Democratic candidate that very year for that very office, but he elected to become a Democrat for causes that took political pacification and not personal success into account. He always remained a Democrat, but he reserved the often used right to oppose unfit

candidates and oppressive organizations and their despotic policy within that party.

Twice the governorship nomination could have been his by stooping to the mud. Unaffectedly he wanted it for the power for good it had in it. Besides, it was on both occasions the apparent prelude to the Presidency. But he had never stooped in the past. The fact was certain that he would not stoop in the future. Politicians, therefore, could form no union on his name that was not chilled by apprehension. None was on that account formed. The General came to regard the freedom he retained, to have in it more happiness than the function he escaped It is questionable that the organization here, as it then was and still is, could have commanded the nomination of a messenger from a State convention or of a doorkeeper from a National convention of the Democracy. It was certain that the only luster its men won was due to their speculation in the name of the man who had repeatedly defied them on their own ground, and who consistently despised them, as well as defied them, when they sought to harass or hopple him.

No review of the General's political career would either be complete or candid that omitted to note his defection from Cleveland, or his apparent support of Hill for President, and of Chapin for Governor. He erred in both instances. The provocation to the first error was quite as chargeable to Cleveland as on any one else. President Cleveland and the General misunderstood one another. The misunderstanding was increased by those who had in its increase a reason which neither man perceived nor shared. Mr. Cleveland's first administration carefully avoided recognition of General Slocum's position in affairs. Nevertheless, the General loyally supported him for re-election in 1888.

In 1891 the General took part in the Chapin movement for Governor, but his heart was not in it. Neither was it in the movement for Hill in 1892 for President. He, however, realized that in both movements he was repaying efforts that had been put forth for him, and that those efforts had been put forth by men whom he had not hesitated here often to oppose. Gallantry, as well as gratitude, was appealed to by these facts. The consciousness that he was engaged in the impossible was his in both instances. It did not affect the claim laid on his honor. He hesitated not to go down with those who had dared the same fate on his own behalf. The facts which qualified his relation to Democratic reform did credit to his sense of manliness and appreciation. Success based on the forgetfulness of obligation was not coveted by him.

But all that is past. It ceased to have a share in his attitude toward the Federal administration, or in its attitude toward him. The Eagle has the pleasure of believing that it brought them together. The zeal with which the General sustained the President's efforts to make the pension roll a roll of honor was shown in these columns. He was most gratified by the selection of his friend, General Lochren, as Commissioner of Pensions. His letters to the Eagle, and other expressions of a less public character,

were followed by a dissipation of all causes of difference between the Federal administration and himself. The tender of high evidences of its consideration was declined by him, in a way at once to show his appreciation and his inveterate resolve to maintain himself in citizenship alone for the residue of his life.

It is not unsatisfying to know that he put away resentments when he put away ambitions. He resolved political disappointments into factors that enhanced his military fame, by making it stand in the shadow of no equal civic preferments. He lived and died among his kindred, his friends and his books by him loved almost equally well. Few greater soldiers of America preceded him. None so great has survived him. He was getting lonely, for his peers had answered to roll-call on the other shore.

Yet he was not old, as age is rated in these times. It seems not long ago when Sumter was fired on. The veteran who died at sixty-seven today, was but thirty-four then, and he wrote his name with his sword among the immortals before he was thirty-nine. He came to Brooklyn as, historically, the most illustrious, and personally the most modest, of her citizens in that year. Here life and death have come to those he loved. Here in turn death now has come to him. Here his service solidified to history, and his ambitions dissolved into forgotten dreams. Here were the companions he cherished, not lost, but gone before. Here are the companions who cherished him, and who number him among their treasuries of memory. The world knows him as great. The Nation knows him as one of its preservers. The city would rather know him as simply one of her sons, and world and Nation can find their estate in him of conqueror uncoveted by those who loved him in the better relation of citizen, townsman, neighbor and friend. Hail, and farewell!

CHAPTER LIV

Public Memorials on Land and Sea

Immediately following the decease of General Slocum the surviving members of the New York Monuments Commission for the Battle-field of Gettysburg held a meeting and, with warm preamble and resolutions they expressed the high esteem in which they had held him, and their sense of bereavement in his loss.

The 10th of December, 1894, the Common Council of the City of Brooklyn adopted a resolution petitioning the State Legislature to erect a befitting statue of the great soldier at Gettysburg.

The Monuments Commission drafted a bill providing for the expenditure by the State of New York of $25,000 for an

equestrian statue of its deceased hero on the Battle-field of Gettysburg. This bill was introduced in the State Senate February 5, 1895, by Senator John Raines and it was referred to the Committee on Finance. Senator Raines introduced a similar bill January 23, 1896. This bill was subjected to some amendments the last of March and, April 4th, it became a law. The latter part of April a committee of fourteen members of the Legislature, including the presiding officers of both bodies, was chosen for the purpose of visiting the battle-field, selecting the site for the proposed statue, and for the inspection of the monuments already erected by the Commission. This Legislative Committee performed these duties May 1-3, 1896.

Survey of the ground was duly made, a map was traced accordingly and, upon its presentation before the National Park Commission, and the Secretary of War January 19, 1899, they endorsed on this map their approval of the site and arrangement.

Sculptors near and far soon learned of the invitation advertised for sketches of models and, in April, 1897, ten pictures of models by nine sculptors were set up in a large room adjoining the office of the Commission at Albany for the examination of all interested parties. These sketches were discussed in every part, and adversely criticised to the degree of the rejection of all of them. Up to the time of June 15, 1897, eighteen other sketches of models from seventeen sculptors known only by numbers, were opened for examination.

The work chosen by the Commission and their chosen critics was ascertained to be that of Edward C. Potter, after five sculptors had each presented full plaster model about one-and-a-half life size. The pedestal, to support Mr. Potter's work in bronze, was designed by the engineer and secretary of the Commissioners, A. J. Zabriskie; and the equestrian statue, its pedestal, and foundation, were completed and assembled in due time.

The date of September 19, 1902, was settled upon for the dedication of this statue. The Legislature appropriated twelve thousand and five hundred dollars for the transportation to and from the dedicatory exercises of about fifty survivors of each of the New York Regiments which served under General Slocum in the XIIth and XXth Corps which aggregated nineteen regiments

of infantry and five batteries of artillery. The survivors of General Slocum's original regiment, the Twenty-seventh New York, were also included in the invitation. Arrangements were made whereby these venerable surviving soldiers might be housed for the night near the monument in tents shipped from Washington for that purpose. The Seventh Regiment of the New York National Guard with its band of music served as escort to Governor Benjamin B. Odell, Junior, and they encamped nearby.

The weather being auspicious, the dedicatory exercises were largely attended, and the full spirit of respect for the honored dead interred nearby, as well as high regard and due honor for the memory of the departed great commander, pervaded the throngs of thousands of people, including the dignitaries of New York, Pennsylvania, and other States.

The dedicatory program was impressive throughout, namely: Music, Seventh New York Regiment National Guard Band. Prayer, by Rev. W. T. Pray, D. D. Address by General Daniel E. Sickles, U. S. A., Chairman. Music, by the Second U. S. Cavalry Band. Unveiling of Monument by Governor B. B. Odell. Major-General's salute of thirteen guns by the Fourth U. S. Battery. Address, by Governor Benj. B. Odell, Jr. Address by Governor William E. Stone. Music, by the Second U. S. Cavalry Band. Address by Governor Franklin Murphy. Oration by General James C. Rogers. Music by the Seventh N. Y. Regt. Band. Oration by Colonel Archie E. Baxter. Music by the Seventh N. Y. Regt. Band. Benediction by Rev. Joseph Twitchell, D D. Parting Salute by the Fourth United States Battery.

The Reverend Doctor Pray was a member of both the Seventy-eighth and the One hundred and second New York Volunteer Infantry Regiments. His prayer was both eloquent and appropriate.

The address of General Sickles gracefully welcomed the more than one thousand of General Slocum's surviving men who fought so nobly and successfully under his leadership. He annunciated many interesting and valuable historical items of Gettysburg and other battle-fields in part as follows:

"More than a million people had visited Gettysburg during the first nine years of its possession as a National Cemetery.

More than four hundred graceful memorials had already (1902) been erected. No other battle-field on earth is so consecrated by loving tokens of remembrance. There are (in 1902) more soldiers' monuments in the United States of America than have ever been erected in all the other parts of the world. New York State took precedence on this field from the first gun fired, the first Union soldier to fall, in the largest number of Union soldiers engaged, and in the losses, numbering 6,707, more than thirty per cent of the total losses in the Union Army on this field. New York regiments and batteries fought in every division but one of the Army of the Potomac which fought this battle. New York has erected on this battle-field (up to 1902) eighty-six regimental and battery monuments, besides the magnificent State Memorial to our dead who lie buried in yonder National Cemetery, and besides this equestrian statue to General Slocum. Continuing, he said:

"General Slocum's terse sentence 'Stay and Fight it Out' was the advice given by the Council of War to General Meade 'who was not satisfied with his position at Gettysburg.' The Army of the Potomac did 'Stay and Fight it Out; and the victory gained is the best comment that can be made on Slocum's judgment.'

"I am thankful to have been spared to come here to-day to assist in the dedication of this monument to my comrade and friend, the foremost soldier New York sent to the field during the Civil War. Fortunately, he was one of the few of our commanders who had unbounded confidence in our volunteers; therefore he never failed. We were associated in four campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. We were both successively regimental, brigade, division, and corps commanders.

"General Slocum never lost a color or a gun. Although his voice will never again be heard by his beloved comrades, this heroic figure will stand for ages to come, as a type of an American commander, modest, resolute, sagacious, brave."

Governor Odell, of New York, in his address emphasized the underlying principle of equality, of right, and justice, as the actuating and inspiring motive of the Civil War. "In the patriotic general whose monument we dedicated to-day, was found one of those sturdy men who knew not only duty but

Near View of the Equestrian Statue of Major-General Slocum at Gettysburg, looking Northeasterly. His right hand holds his hat. The Headquarters Party at the Dedication, in Part. Seated, from right to left: George Engs Slocum, brother; Clarence R. and Henry W., sons of the General; Major Bradley, General Sickles, Governor Odell, General Webb, Major Richardson, and Adjutant-General Henry. September 19, 1902.

who gave to its performance an intelligence which insured to him the respect and confidence of his associates and those whom he led. He and the brave men of New York and other States of the Union need no monument to perpetuate their glory. Monuments may be erected as the Nation's tribute, but our country and this battle-field stand as the monument of their devotion, their patriotism, and their heroism."

The address of Governor William E. Stone of Pennsylvania, was brief. He said: "Pennsylvania is proud of the fact that the most decisive battle of the war was fought on her soil, and while the soil is the soil of Pennsylvania it is consecrated by the blood of the bravest men of all the States and Territories. This battle-field belongs to the whole Nation, because here is where the whole Nation was saved from dissolution. Whether it is among nations or individuals, some decisive moment comes in the lives of each. The decisive moment for our Nation was here at Gettysburg in 1863, and the Nation was saved."

Governor Franklin Murphy of New Jersey also gave a brief address. He said: "First and over all, I feel it a very great privilege and honor to be with you, to join with the representatives of the great State of New York in doing merited honor to my old Commander. If you will look at his face—and I never saw a more speaking face in bronze than that yonder—you will understand why it was that General Slocum easily won and always held the confidence and affection of his soldiers. They never doubted him, and when we saw him we had the confidence in him. A face like that inspires the world over. I repeat that I am glad to be here with you, to join with the citizens of New York in doing honor to that great man. I will say just one thing more. I went over this field to-day; it was my first visit since the battle thirty-eight years ago. I cannot tell you how it impressed me. Our regiment fought away over yonder, on the extreme Union right, and we started this morning and went over the field to the left and I saw this magnificent monument. As I rode over the field and the inspiration of that heroic day came to me, it seemed that I should go away from here—as I believe you will go away—a better citizen, not alone from the beauty of the day and its great attractions, but because of the patriotic inspiration which on this day inspires us."

General James C. Rogers, of General Slocum's XIIth Corps, was the next speaker. He said in part:

It was my good fortune to have been associated with General Slocum during a large part of his brilliant military career, and because I knew him and loved him with the enthusiastic ardor that the young soldier feels for the chief in whom he trusts and believes. And General Slocum had that in him, both as officer and as man, to inspire confidence, admiration and love. There were seen, by me and observed, a number of other leading generals. And now, after all this time has passed, with the impressions of those early days and years strengthened by the judgment of maturer years, I can truthfully say that in the combination of high soldierly qualities with the purest patriotism, in decision of character and the power of quick adaptation of means to the end to be accomplished, in coolness and courage, Henry W. Slocum was, at least, the peer of them all. He had all the sterling soldierly qualities which the others possessed, and some of the head and heart in which the others were deficient.

The XIIth Army Corps was a fine body of troops, and it was splendidly officered throughout, and over all and inspiring all with his high soldierly qualities and calm, quiet but impressive personality, was the great leader whose bronze statue looks down upon us to-day. General Slocum, although a West Point graduate and Regular Army Officer, had resigned from the army before the breaking out of the Civil War, and his mind had been broadened, and humanized as it were, by daily contact with all kinds of men in civil life. He knew and recognized better than most officers who had remained in the army service and whose duties had run in the narrow channels of army life in time of peace, that the young officers and men of volunteer regiments of those days were not of the kind that had been in the habit of enlisting before the war, but were of the best blood of the land and could be moulded and made effective as soldiers more by kindness and by the inspiration of duty than by rough handling and compulsion of fear.

In the Battle of Chancellorsville, which began so brilliantly by Slocum only to end in defeat from the fault of others, Geenral Slocum so skillfully handled his corps that although it was largely composed of regiments that had never been under fire, it did not waver when the other troops on its right were swept away and thrown into a panic such as sometimes comes to the bravest troops when surprised and attacked at a disadvantage. At midnight Slocum swung forward his corps at right angles to the line of breastworks which it had built and occupied in the morning, and there at the edge of the woods at the foot of Chancellorsville Hill, with its Ist Division just to the left of the famous Plank Road, it fought on that Sunday in May, after all its former supports had forsaken it, and only as brave men fight, until the line was crumbling all about it.

It is perhaps enough to say that General Hooker was so impressed with the coolness and skill displayed by General Slocum in that battle, and

the gallantry of his corps under the most trying circumstances, that when Lee had crossed the Potomac and Hooker was following him and planning how to fight and defeat the Confederate Army, he decided to send General Slocum with his XIIth Corps and the ten thousand Union troops then idle and useless at Harper's Ferry, to the upper Potomac there to head off and attack and defeat what was left of Lee's army after the Army of the Potomac had fought and defeated it somewhere near Gettysburg and driven it back towards the river. With General Meade's appointment to command in Hooker's stead, General Slocum's assignment to duty by Hooker fell with him. Of course it is mere speculation now, but one cannot help thinking of what would have been the result if, after Lee's army had been defeated here, and promptly followed up, a cool determined fighter like General Slocum with twenty thousand men had been at the fords of the upper Potomac to head it off. In that event, how much of that army and its immense baggage train would have recrossed the river into Virginia?

Look at General Slocum's record—not one mistake, not one event in those long years of active leadership which we would wish to blot out. And then, when the war was over and that for which he fought is won, he sheathes his sword and returns to the peaceful avocations of the citizen. Oh, life is worth living when it can furnish such record as this! Is it any wonder that the officers and men whom he commanded trusted and believed in him and loved him? Is it any wonder that the great State of New York erects this magnificent monument to his memory on this historic battlefield, which, as the years go by, shall more and more become the mecca of American patriotism and valor? Here our children's children shall come and, gazing at this statue, and others like it, and these hundreds of monuments of regiments and batteries, and those thousands of little nameless granite slabs over yonder in the cemetery, they will be inspired with new love for the Union of these States, and new reverence for all that is noble and beautiful and good in the lives of those who fought and won our country's victory here.

The Oration of Colonel Archie E. Baxter, of General Slocum's XXth Army Corps, was eloquent and impressive. But part of it will be here noted, namely:

Our purpose here naturally recalls recollections of the illustrious soldier who, at a crisis in this great struggle, averted irretrievable disaster and made possible the victory that marked the beginning of the end of the Confederacy, and brought fresh renown to our arms and a luster to our flag that will never fade. As boys we loved, trusted and were proud of this great captain, and confidently followed wherever he led. To-day as men, many of us grown old beyond our years, we are reverently gathered to honor his memory. Patriotic New York has been generous with monuments and statues in honor of her sons, but never has she erected one more deserved than is this in commemoration of the inestimable service

to his State and Nation of her greatest soldier Major-General Henry Warner Slocum.

How like is this bronze hero of to-day to the living soldier of forty years ago! True, there is no recognition in these sightless eyes; no greeting falls from these silent lips. The flag he loved, streaming gloriously here in to-day's sunlight, the strains of war-like music, the roar of cannon, or the acclaims of those he led to victory no longer thrill the warrior's heart. Heedless of all, he keeps, in this city of the dead, ceaseless vigils over the field he fought to save.

And yet, as we gaze on the grim, bronze figure, forgotten are the years that are gone. Once more as boys we are in the presence of the general we loved so well. Again we see the kindly eyes, the grave, clean-cut soldierly face, the erect martial figure. We see him in the quiet of the camp, dignified yet gentle and approachable, modest and unassuming. We see him with his staff, an elder brother in his military family, admired, honored and loved by all. Genial, warm-hearted and familiar, but through his innate dignity restraining excesses and exacting the respect due him and his exalted station. We see him in the heat of battle, cool, deliberate, and self-poised amid the wild excitement, the awful crash and roar. But mark the change when he discoveres that 'some one has blundered.' The whole man seems transfigured. There is a terrible intensity in the compressed lips, the blazing eyes. It is not the joy of conflict, or the lust of battle; but rather the outward mark of a relentless will, of a determination to save what the blunder has endangered; to triumph for his flag and country.

Let the battle roar, the lines surge and waver, he never loses his soldierly grasp of the situation. No sudden reverse discourages or dismays. Through scenes that blanch the faces and unnerve the hearts of veterans, he stands unshaken, noting, with eyes from which no detail escapes, the shifting scenes, and weighing with unerring skill the varying chances of battle. Never needlessly sacrificing his men, but relentless as death where victory may be won by supreme courage and sublime devotion. We see him on a score of historic fields stemming disaster, wresting victory from defeat, winning new glory for the flag; and from Manassas to Bentonville, carving with his stainless sword his name among the immortals. He still lives in the memory of his achievements and exalted manhood.

It is my privilege to speak to-day for the XXth Corps; for the living, and for the dead, of that army of heroes who, fresh from the scenes of glorious conflict in the East, sought and won new laurels on Western fields; whose place in line was always where the battle raged the fiercest; whose flag was never lowered on the field, whose bugles never sounded a retreat, whose proud boast was that they never lost a color or a gun; and whose badges of Stars, like those that blazed on the flag they bore, grew brighter in every battle from Chattanooga to the Sea. We saw the flashes of their musketry and heard the roar of their cannon at Wauhatchie's midnight fight. We watched them clamber up grim Lookout's rugged side

and plant Old Glory in triumph above the clouds. We beheld them sweep grandly across the plain and, with ringing cheers, storm the lowering heights of Missionary Ridge. We saw them between Chattanooga and Atlanta when, in all those hundred days, the minie balls never ceased singing in ghoulish glee; fighting gloriously, dying fearlessly, always victorious and constantly displaying the splendid courage, endurance and devotion that made them the equals of the best soldiers the world has ever seen.

On the 2nd of September, 1864, at the head of the XXth Corps, General Slocum was the first to enter and take possession of Atlanta. Soon after this date preparations began for a most unusual campaign, bold in conception, brilliant in execution, and fruitful in results, the March from the Mountains to the Sea; a campaign that split the Confederacy in twain, cut off the supplies upon which Lee's army relied for subsistence, filled with consternation the heart of the great Confederate martial leader who saw therefrom that the real objective of this erratic and defiant campaign was a junction with Grant, and it made clear the hopelessness of further resistance, and sounded the death knell of the Rebellion. To General Slocum, who so valiantly commanded the Right Wing of the Union Army of the Potomac at Gettysburg, was intrusted the Left Wing of the historic Army that was to march a thousand miles without a friendly base of supplies. It was a post of great importance, one that called into full play the superb soldierly traits of the experienced and resourceful general. This army cut loose from the outer world, the world of its friends, and swung boldly toward the Sea, surrounded only by its enemies. As General Slocum's command was the first to enter Atlanta so it was the first to enter Milledgeville the capitol city; also first to scale the Confederate works and enter Savannah the chief port and emporium of the greatest commonwealth of the enemy. Continuing onward, Slocum's mid-winter march with heavy wagon trains and artillery through the flooded swamps and across the swollen and bridgeless rivers of the Carolinas, surrounded by the ever increasing enemy, was one of General Slocum's greatest achievements, and we may well say one of the greatest achievements in history. At Averysborough he won a handsome victory over the Confederate General Hardee. Near Bentonville, General Joe Johnston discovering that our two Wings were moving by divergent routes massed his whole force and entrenched them in General Slocum's front, intending to surprise and crush his army piecemeal. But General Slocum, always alert, rapidly deployed in line of battle with less than one-third of his men, a force of less than one-third of the enemy confronting him. While his men were hurriedly gathering fence rails for barricades, using their tin plates and cups for shovels, the shock of battle broke upon them. Out of the woods in front burst the gallant gray lines of the enemy. Their flags were waving gaily; sabers flashed and bayonets gleamed. To our waiting lines fronting the onset it was a thrilling sight. On, though ploughed and torn by our artillery, with the steadiness of veterans confident of success, they came. Midway

across the field they broke into a run and, with the old Confederate yell, came sweeping toward us. Suddenly out of the guns of our ranks leaped sheets of living flame. Volley after volley ran flashing, rattling and hissing down our lines. Thinned and staggered by the withering fire, they wavered, broke, and went reeling back across the field. Again and again with desperate courage they recklessly charged, and though men of the blue and gray fell side by side in the fierce embroilment, six times did the grays charge to be driven back in confusion over a field thickly strewn with their wounded and dead. Then, as the sun broke through the clouds and the smoke of battle and bathed our flag in a flood of glory, from our triumphal lines the old Union cheer burst from the lips of veterans who, in grim silence, had fought like heroes and splendidly won the last battle of the Confederacy. This Battle of Bentonville was known as Slocum's battle. Here practically ended his military career in the field. The war was over, the Union saved and liberty was again proclaimed throughout the land.

General Slocum's heart now turned longingly toward the pursuits of peace, and he gladly sheathed his sword forever. He had proved equal to every trust committed to him. His heart had been untouched by intrigue, quarreling, undue rivalry, envy, or sad disappointment of ambition. Apparently unmindful of personal advancement, he sought only his country's safety and glory. Heedless of all else save personal honor, he was content to do his best, modestly and resolutely where duty called him, calm, strong and fearlessly. As a citizen, though crowned with the luster of great achievements, he bore himself so meekly that there was no vocal reminder from him of the days when his words were so potent upon the fields of mighty conflict. Successful in everything he undertook, esteemed, and loved, he might have gained the highest civil offices in the State and Nation had he but consented 'to stoop to conquer.'

Comrades, we can truly say to those who slumber, and are monumented, here that we have kept the faith. Rest in peace.

Of the living, officers as well as the rank and file, we would say to the public, in the name of patriotism, of loyalty, and of the flag they yet bear and honor, criticise them less and praise their valor and devotion more. Let us as a people make for our country a tithe of their sacrifices, and we will awaken to a truer sense of the duties of citizenship, love our country more zealously, advance with quickened strides the cause of liberty and humanity, and prolong the days of our Republic's greatness and glory.

The old soldiers present, and others of the vast assemblage, then examined the monument of General Slocum in all of its details. It will be described as follows: Founded on concrete about five feet thick from the rock under ground, twenty-two feet long and sixteen feet and two inches wide. This concrete is capped by dressed Gettysburg granite sixteen inches thick, as the

base for the pedestal which is of granite from Barre, Vermont, twenty-one feet and eight inches long, fifteen feet and ten inches wide, and sixteen feet three and a half inches high and composed of ten courses or layers. The bronze statue, including its base or plinth also of bronze, is fifteen feet and six inches to the top of the general's head. The plinth on which the horse stands is eleven feet nine and three-quarters inches long, and four feet wide. The total cost was $29,951.57. The amount appropriated for it by the State was $30,000.

The bronze tablets, one on each side of the granite pedestal, are each four feet nine and three-quarter inches wide and three feet ten and one-eighth inches high. The lettering on the tablet of the westerly side, shown in the near engraving, reads as follows:

A Star | Major General | Henry Warner Slocum, U. S. V. | 1826-1894 | In Command of Right Wing | of the Army of the Potomac | at the | Battle of Gettysburg | July 1, 2, 3, 1863. | "Stay and Fight it Out" | Gen. Slocum at Council of War July 2, 1863. | Erected by the State of New York, 1902. | At the lower left hand corner of this tablet is the Seal of the State of New York.

The lettering on the tablet of the easterly side reads as follows: | Major General Henry Warner Slocum, U. S. Vols. | Cadet U. S. Military Academy July 1, 1848: 2nd Lieut. | First Artillery July 1, 1852: 1st Lieut. March 3, 1855. Resigned | October 31, 1856. | Col. 27th N. Y. Infantry May 21, 1861. Severely wounded | Bull Run July 21, 1861. Brig. Gen'l of Volunteers August 9, 1861. | Assigned to command of 2nd Brigade, Franklin's Division, Army | of the Potomac September 4, 1861, and to command of 1st Division | 6th Corps May 18, 1862. | Maj. Gen'l U. S. Vols. July 4, 1862. Assumed Command of | 12th Corps October 20, 1862. Temporarily commanded the Right | Wing of the Army of the Potomac, consisting of the 5th, 11th | and 12th Corps April 28-30, 1863. In Command of the Right | Wing of the Union Army, composed of the 5th and 12th Corps | at Gettysburg July 1, 2, 3, 1863. | Relinquished command of the 12th Corps April 18, 1864 | and on April 27, 1864, assumed Command of the Military District | of Vicksburg, which he held until August 14, 1864. | Assumed Command on the 20th Corps

August 27, 1864 | and of the Left Wing of Sherman's Army, known as the Army of | Georgia, November 11, 1864. Assigned, in orders dated June 27, | 1865, to Command of the Department of Mississippi, | Headquarters at Vicksburg, which he held until relieved September | 18, 1865, and on September 28, 1865,.Gen'l Slocum Resigned from | the Army and was Honorably Discharged. |

Soon after the decease of General Slocum some of the leading citizens of Brooklyn instituted a movement for the erection in that city of a fitting memorial monument in his honor. A popular subscription for this purpose was the first thought, but better counsels prevailed, and the financial part was assumed by the municipality. A law was enacted in the year 1895 authorizing an issue of bonds not to exceed $30,000 for this purpose.

The American sculptor, Frederick MacMonnies, a native of Brooklyn, and at this time with residence and studio in Paris, was enlisted in the enterprise by his friends in Brooklyn; and he in due time wrought a model that was satisfactory to all persons who saw the work. The casting in bronze was done in Paris under the sculptor's supervision, and the statue was shipped to Brooklyn late in the year 1902. Upon its receipt it was stored for a considerable length of time on what was known as the East Side Lands, as from various causes the completion of the foundation and pedestal was much delayed.

The base of this monument is nineteen feet long and eighteen feet wide. The pedestal is granite from the State of Maine. It is surrounded by posts of the same rock which are connected by chains of artistically wrought bronze. The tip of the general's sword is twenty-five feet above the pavement around the base of the monument. It was erected at Eastern Parkway and Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn Borough, New York City.

Memorial Day, May 30, 1905, was chosen for the dedication of this memorial. The assemblage on this occasion was large, composed of numerous citizens and old soldiers from near and far, and embracing several thousand school children in the parade, a sight that always cheered General Slocum's heart. The municipality of New York was fully represented by its officers, including a Commissioner from each of the Boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens, Manhattan, Richmond, and the Bronx.

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY WARNER SLOCUM
Erected by the City of New York, 1905, at Eastern Parkway and Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn Borough
Showing Parade at Unveiling

The order of exercises was as follows: 'Music, 'Hail Columbia.' Invocation, by the Right Reverend Bishop Frederick Burgess. Presentation of the Statue by Commissioner Michael J. Kennedy for the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens. Unveiling of Statue by Gertrude Slocum, who was less than six years of age, daughter of Henry W., son of General Slocum. Acceptance of the Statue in behalf of the City of New York by Honorable George B. McClellan, Mayor, formerly General Slocum's commanding general in the Army of the Potomac. Music, the 'Star Spangled Banner.' Address by Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.[117] Benediction by the Right Reverend Bishop Charles E. McDonnell. Music 'America.' The Major-General's Salute of thirteen guns was fired by soldiers present during the time of the dedication. At the close of the ceremonies President Roosevelt reviewed the parade as it passed along the Parkway.

It has been the custom for many years, if not during the history of all mankind, to give the name of a prominent personage to children, and to objects, either in honor of the person whose name was so used, or to honor the person or object so named, and probably from both of these causes generally. Such has been the case with the name of General Slocum.

Probably one of the most enduring objects that has been named to perpetuate and honor the memory of this General, is Fort Slocum, one of the strongest fortifications for the protection of the City of New York. It is situated on Davids Island which is a little east of the larger Glen Island, southward of the City of New Rochelle, New York, and at the narrowing eastern part of Long Island Sound. It is about five miles north of Fort Schuyler, and six miles northward of Fort Totten on Willetts Point. The principal purpose of Fort Slocum is the protection of the easterly entrance to the East Strait, generally known as East River, New York City.

The great guns of Fort Slocum, and their arrangement, are modern and of the most approved pattern of the artillery service. Every device and agency known to modern warfare have been, and are yet being, mustered to render Fort Slocum impregnable. Very large sums of money and great efforts have already been expended by the General Government for this purpose, and the

work is yet in progress. Mrs. Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage, widow of the late Russell Sage, and vice-president of the International Woman's Auxiliary, completed a good building in the year 1910 for the Young Men's Christian Association work by permission of the War Department. This building is situated near the barrack quarters of Fort Slocum and it is for the benefit of the thousands of United States Soldiers who will from time to time be here received, organized, drilled, and distributed for special or general service at other fortifications, or fields. Fully 3,700 soldiers have been counted at this building in one day. The police justice of the nearby City of New Rochelle has asserted that, when fewer soldiers were brought to him for disorderly conduct he attributed the decrease to the severe sentences he had inflicted upon them; but he later found that their better conduct was due to the opening of this Young Men's building and its wholesome influence over them.

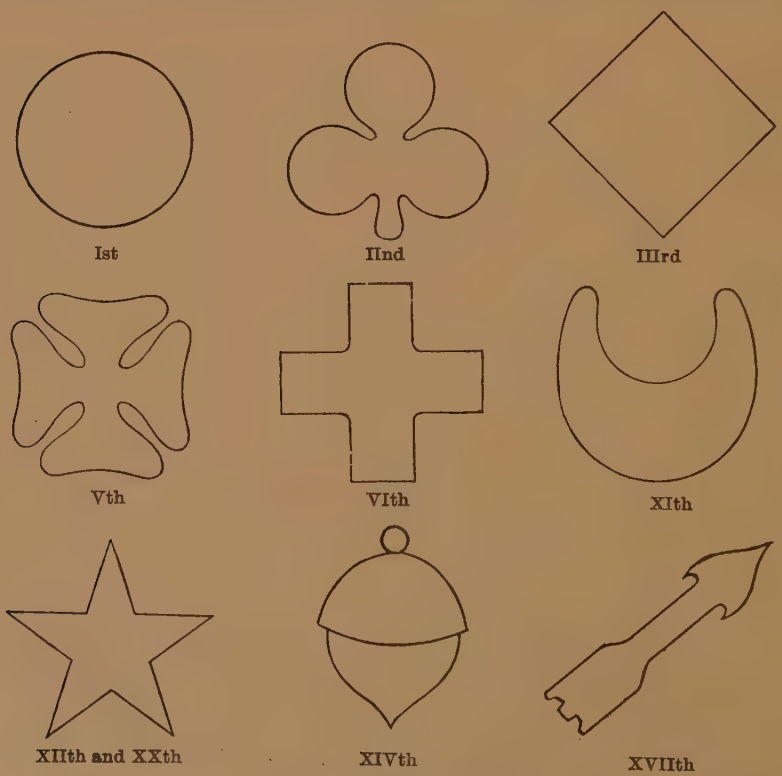
A large and elegant steamship was built near New York City and was named *General Slocum,* the name being placed so prominently on its sides as to be easily read at long distance. This dirigible palace was used solely to supply the demand for additional pleasure and recreation excursions on the different waters of this city and its neighborhood. It became very popular and, during the years of its use, it was frequently overloaded by the thousands who desired to patronize it. On June 15, 1904, while carrying a church excursion party of 1,800 persons up the East River or Strait a match or lighted cigar set fire to some inflammable material of the excursionists and the spread of the flames was so rapid that before the ship could be beached on the nearby North Brother Island the panic was so great that from 900 to 1,000 or more were crushed, burned, or drowned.

A Free Kindergarten was established in Brooklyn Borough in the year 1894, and it was named the Slocum Kindergarten to honor and perpetuate the memory of the General who did so much for the children.

A large United States Transport ship, for carrying soldiers and army supplies during the Spanish-American War in 1898-1899, was named *Slocum,* and she has since borne the name. She suffered injury on the rocks off the east coast of Porto Rico

in November, 1899, but she was readily repaired and continued her work to the Philippine Islands and less distant ports.

A large, strong, seaworthy United States craft for towing barges, dry-docks, and disabled ships was also named *Slocum*. She did good service April 18, 1906, in taking a battalion of the 22nd Infantry, United States Army, from Fort McDowell on Angel Island to San Francisco to support the municipal authorities in their aiding the earthquake sufferers there. She also aided in policing the city's wharf-lines at this time. This Tug *Slocum* also towed the disabled Transfort *Sheridan* to and into San Francisco Harbor November 23, 1906, from the rocks off Barber's Point, Hawaiian Islands—which service of salvation brings to mind the saving of the youth Sheridan for his brilliant career in the United States Army during the Civil War by the youth Slocum aiding him to pass the necessary grades in his studies while they were both cadets in the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. See page 10 of this book.



ARMY CORPS' BADGES

APPENDIX

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SOLDIERS BY STATES, REGIMENTS AND BATTERIES

Under the more constant command of Major-General Slocum are given below. Many other regiments, and parts of regiments, were added to this list frequently to take the places of those whose terms of enlistment had expired, and who were killed or disabled in battles, or by diseases. There were frequently so much change in companies as well as in regiments, that full account could not be kept for this list of the incoming men by transfer or direct enlistment. For names of officers, see the General Index.

Alabama. First Cavalry, page 222, of this book.

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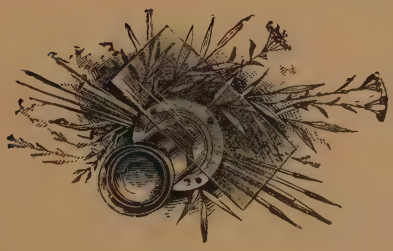

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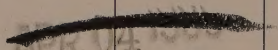

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